

THRESHOLDS OF TRANSLATION

Paratexts, Print, and Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Britain (1473–1660)

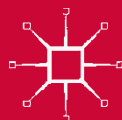
Edited by

Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda M. Hosington



EARLY MODERN LITERATURE IN HISTORY

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Marie-Alice Belle • Brenda M. Hosington
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Thresholds of Translation

Paratexts, Print, and Cultural Exchange in Early
Modern Britain (1473–1660)

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda M. Hosington

In 1637, the first English translation of Corneille's tragicomedy *Le Cid* was published shortly after its performance, as its title-page announces, 'before their Majesties at Court, and on the Cock-pit Stage in Drury-lane'.¹ In his address 'To the Reader' (Fig. 1.1), the translator, Joseph Rutter, cleverly presents his prefatorial remarks as a prologue to the play: 'The place of a Prologue let this leafe take up: which would gently advise you to suspend your censure of this translation, till you be skilled in both the languages' (sig. A4^r). Rutter here obviously follows the generic conventions of the translation preface as a double-edged apology to the 'gentle reader'. However, he also displays a striking awareness of what Gérard Genette would call the 'vestibular' nature of the genre, as he punningly closes his address in the following terms: 'but this is not fit Porch for the Temple of love, Ile shut it up, and open you the pleasant way, into which you had rather enter' (sig. A4^v).

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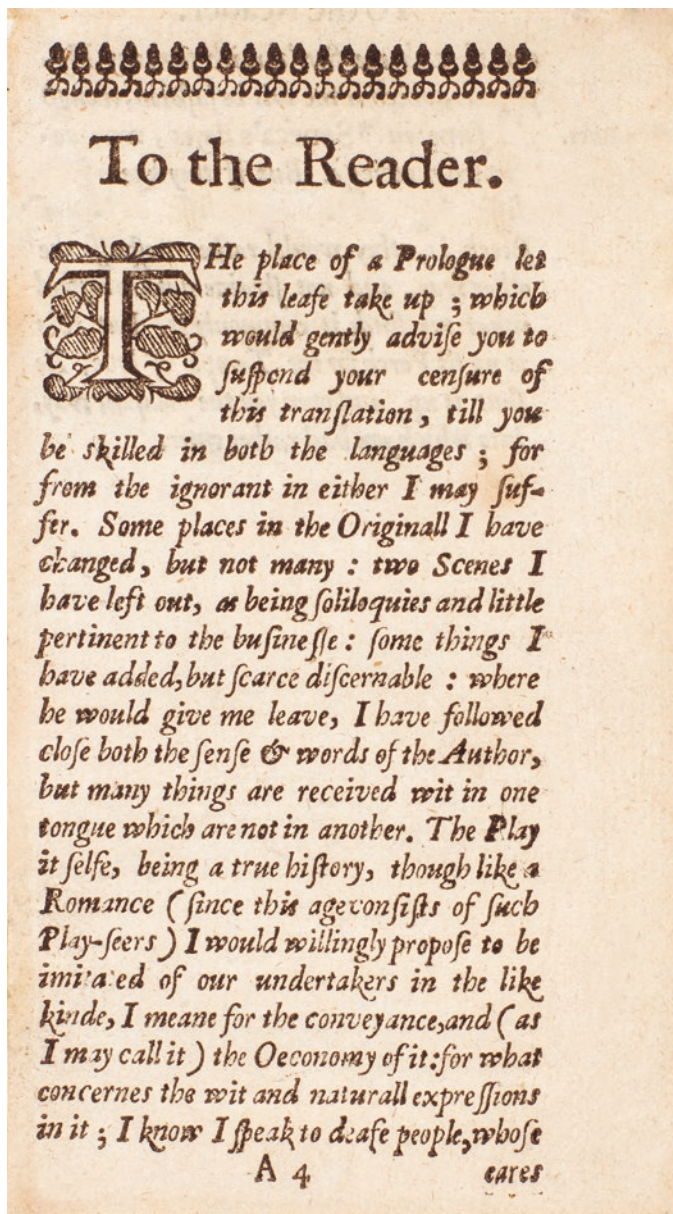


Fig. 1.1 P. Corneille, *The Cid, A Tragicomedy, out of French made English* [trans. Joseph Rutter] (London: John Haviland for Thomas Walkley, 1637), sig. A4^r. Rare Books 150276, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California

In encouraging his readers to cross the threshold into the translated play, Rutter's address offers a fit illustration of Gérard Genette's now classical definition of the printed paratext as a liminal space, a 'threshold of interpretation',² serving the double function of drawing readers in ('opening the pleasant way') and controlling their reading experience ('suspend your censure'). Rutter's self-conscious playfulness is, again, clearly genre-specific: a certain amount of *sprezzatura* was expected in a translation preface. Yet it also points to what appears to be a rather common feature of early modern printed paratexts, that is, their metamorphic, shape-shifting nature. In his study of the 'commodification of textual engagements' in the early age of print, Michael Saenger aptly describes paratexts as 'the sliding edges of textuality'.³ Indeed, from title-pages to marginalia, and from prefatorial remarks to errata and indices, the liminal areas of the printed text variously expand or shrink to fit the purposes of the author, translator, or printer. The entryway, or 'porch' to the printed book thus hardly ever closes as neatly as Rutter seems to imply when he declares: 'Ile shut it up'.

Recent studies of printed paratexts in early modern Britain have highlighted the importance of such 'thresholds' as places of authorial, social, and cultural negotiation.⁴ In the context of a rapidly expanding and increasingly specialised book market, the paratexts of the early modern printed book afforded a space where writers—and, more often than not, publishers—could advertise the value of their work as being worth their reader's attention and purchase.⁵ Title-pages and preliminary addresses were of critical importance in that respect. But titles, dedications, prefaces, and even illustrated plates also allowed authors, translators, and printers to stage their relationships with their patrons, or placate political and religious authorities.⁶ The liminal spaces of the printed book were equally essential in 'managing readers'; as William Slight has eloquently demonstrated with regard to marginalia, paratexts provided the material and hermeneutic framework through which writers and printers attempted, with variable success, to shape the reception of the printed text.⁷ They did so by exploiting interpretive and generic codes often embedded in enduring textual, literary, and hermeneutic traditions (humanist editions of the Classics are the obvious example), but also by activating modes of social recognition. Furthermore, paratexts were where communities of readers were crucially defined, through strategies of inclusion, or, more frequently, of exclusion, singling out 'gentle readers' from the undiscerning crowds.⁸ Finally, the material margins of the printed text opened up an arena where authors engaged with their peers,

competitors, or opponents, sometimes even attempting, through a flattering portrait or a well-crafted laudatory poem, to secure some kind of literary immortality.

The paratextual scaffolding of the printed text may at first sight appear as a means of stabilising and controlling readers' hermeneutic, aesthetic, social, and economic responses. In recent studies, however, Genette's original definition of paratexts as places of authorial or editorial control has been problematised as scholars turned their attention to the historical and material variability of liminal printed spaces. As Helen Smith and Louise Wilson state in their important discussion of Genette's categories in the specific light of early modern practices, 'the Renaissance paratext is an ever-expanding labyrinth, as likely to lead to a frustrating dead-end as to a carefully built pathway, or to deposit the reader back outside the building rather than guide him or her into the text'.⁹ This observation, vividly illustrated by the case studies offered in their *Renaissance Paratexts* volume, confirms the importance of addressing together the cultural, social, as well as material aspects of early modern print. Indeed, while Elizabeth Eisenstein famously argued the 'advent of printing' brought about a stabilisation of meaning, due to the so-called 'fixity' of the new technology, scholars such as Donald McKenzie, Adrian Johns, and David McKitterick, among others, have demonstrated such fixity to be but a historical mirage.¹⁰ To quote Smith and Wilson again, rather than only contributing to 'fixing' meaning, early modern paratexts are probably best approached as creating 'a series of flexible and mutable relationships, as well as spaces which offer themselves for imaginative engagement'.¹¹

Translation could itself be defined as a kind of 'imaginative engagement' with ancient or foreign texts, and the purpose of this collection is to explore the many ways in which printed paratexts participated in such linguistic, cultural, and material encounters in early modern Britain. As will be apparent from the cases presented in this volume, the plasticity of the paratextual space in early modern translations reflects the range of editorial strategies—some traditional, some more 'imaginative'—made available by the medium of print. Yet again, rather than representing mere instruments of translatorial or editorial control, or showing evidence of some 'search for order', to borrow David McKitterick's phrase, the variegated and sometimes manipulative practices at work in the liminal spaces of printed translations offer a striking illustration of the shifting boundaries, both material and conceptual, of the early modern printed paratext.

EARLY MODERN PRINTED TRANSLATIONS AND THE ‘SLIDING EDGES OF TEXTUALITY’

The study of liminal strategies has been of increasing interest to scholars of early modern translation in the last decade or so. The first notable critical move in that respect consisted in the re-evaluation of translation prefaces and dedications. These were long regarded as mere repositories of commonplaces, or as evidence of a certain lack of theoretical elaboration on the part of British translators, as opposed to their Continental counterparts.¹² However, prefaces, dedications, and addresses to the reader are now recognised as complex discursive engagements with ‘common concerns’, at once linguistic, literary, social, and political, in early modern British literary culture.¹³ More specifically, paratextual materials have been shown to offer privileged insight into early modern conceptions of the nature and status of translation activities—whether it be in terms of translators’ social and cultural insecurity (or their ‘anxiety of status’, as Neil Rhodes calls it), or in terms of self-conscious display and strategic visibility, as Anne Coldiron has convincingly argued.¹⁴ This, in turn, has allowed for a richer investigation of the material and cultural significance of translation within the emerging culture of print in early modern Britain.

Certainly, as the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Online Catalogue of Printed Translations in Britain (1473–1640)* reminds us, translations played a crucial role in the establishment of early modern British print practices, including paratextual devices.¹⁵ Caxton’s translations from the French, often produced with a full apparatus of prefaces, dedications, inter-titles, illustrations, and colophons, arguably created the template for the early modern English printed book. This template was adopted and adapted by printers of translations such as Wynkyn de Worde, Pynson, Copland, and many others, all of whom were acutely aware of the introductory role played by paratexts, especially when it came to importing new literary products onto the British market.

Translators and their publishers were all the more sensitive to the affordances of print as literary production throughout the period continued to be supported by a rich manuscript culture. In certain cases, especially when dealing with the Classics, the general layout of the printed translation, including marginal notes and liminal commentaries, was clearly modelled on medieval (and humanist) manuscript practices. Early modern title-pages, prefaces, and other paratextual devices also offer evidence of translators and printers actively defending their medium of choice, and

discussing their relationship with manuscript culture, often in competitive terms. A seminal example is that of Caxton, of course, who in the postface to his 1473 translation of Raoul Lefebvre's *Recueil des histoires de Troye*—the first book ever to be printed in English—stresses at once the personal skills and ‘grete charge and dispense [i.e. expense]’ involved in printing, as well as the efficiency of the new technology:

not wreton with penne and ynke as other bokes ben, to thende that every man may have them attones [at once]; ffor all the bookes of this storye named the recule of the historyes of troyes thus enpryntid as ye here see were begonne in oon day, and also fynysshid in oon day.¹⁶

At the other end of the period, we have Humphrey Moseley advertising his access to autograph manuscript sources for his 1658 edition of Edmund Waller and Sidney Godolphin's *Passion of Dido for Aeneas*, a claim that helps him associate his elegant octavo edition with the productions of a closed social and literary elite, whose works had famously circulated in manuscript form in Caroline poetical circles.¹⁷

While playing a key role in the development of a market for printed translations, the use of paratexts as a way of ‘framing’ the text—both materially and hermeneutically—has also been shown to represent a major strategy in the acts of linguistic, cultural, and material appropriation underlying the ‘Englishing’ of ancient or foreign texts. Margaret Tudeau-Clayton's analyses of the ‘supplementing’ strategies at work in early modern English printed translations of Virgil, for instance, have shown how humanist annotation practices were carried over, adapted, and transformed, in the English translated Classic.¹⁸ Yet, as the case of Harington's *Orlando Furioso* famously shows, such strategies extended to ‘horizontal’ modes of translation, that is, translations of contemporary works from one vernacular into another.¹⁹ As Helen Moore notes in regard to Thomas Paynell's translations in the 1550s, even ‘the creation of a table of contents or matter is emblematic of Tudor humanism [as] a direct intervention into the reading experience, undertaken with the aim of steering and controlling that experience’.²⁰ The importance of controlling readers' responses seems to have felt all the more pressing as translated texts offered potentially controversial material: see for instance Guyda Armstrong's analysis of the ‘framing’ of Boccaccio's tales in early modern English translations, or Anne Coldiron's and Brenda Hosington's studies of the role of paratexts in the appropriation of French and Italian works on the ‘woman question’.²¹

Yet even in cases of strong paratextual intervention, the multiplication of authorial—or quasi-authorial—voices could also reveal the instability of both text and meaning, ‘mak[ing] visible the multiplying potential of translation’, as Helen Smith notes in her contribution to this volume.²² The ambiguities inherent in the (re-)production of meaning through translation were certainly addressed by humanist translation theory and discourse. Bruni and Erasmus, among others, expressed a keen sense of the social and historical contingency of meaning, and of the inherent ‘duplicity’ of translation as a form of linguistic and literary *imitatio*.²³ Translators often obliquely addressed the issue in their prefaces, a notable example being Florio’s paradoxical allusion to the *copia* of translation, even as he (apparently) despaired to have attained the ‘finesse, fitness, feateness’ of his original.²⁴ Again, however, early modern awareness of the materiality of language, and of translation’s potential for proliferation was directly linked to the development of print as a dominant medium of textual reproduction and dissemination. The complex construction of meaning and authority in the margins of printed translations therefore offers a privileged perspective on early modern conceptions of textuality—whether the latter be articulated in terms of the relationship of words to matter, of their relation to authorial intent, or of the material arrangement of characters on the printed page.

Recent attention to the liminal spaces of printed translations has also shed light on key social aspects of early modern print culture. As eloquently demonstrated by Richard McCabe in his study of the ‘ungainefull art’ of dedication, one of the most complex terrains that the printed book afforded for social and material negotiation was that of the dedicatory epistle.²⁵ Fred Schurink’s study of the dedications of Plutarch’s *Moralia* in early modern English translations has indeed shown how the humanist discourse presenting translation as an altruistic dissemination of texts and knowledge actually covered—often quite transparently—early modern translators’ quests for private rewards, advancement, or patronage.²⁶ The translator’s stance therefore appears intrinsically ambiguous, with its double promise, at once to divulge the contents of the source text to a broadened public and to dedicate those riches to a carefully selected, if not exclusive, community of ‘gentle readers’. This paradox seems inextricably linked to—and even perhaps heightened by—contemporary anxieties about the social value of print authorship (the so-called ‘stigma of print’), at a time when manuscript culture remained extremely vibrant. It also clearly speaks to the ambivalent construction of early modern ‘print

authorship', and its complex relationship with the parallel economies of patronage, manuscript circulation, and the expanding book market.²⁷

Shifting political contexts equally made the production, dedication, and diffusion of printed translations a tricky business, as noted for example by Mary Partridge in her analysis of Thomas Hoby's dedication of the 1571 *Book of the Courtier*.²⁸ The conjoined study of translation 'peritexts and contexts'²⁹ has in fact proved extremely fruitful in revealing how translators engaged (or sometimes refrained from engaging) with the political and ideological debates of their times. This approach has been particularly valuable in the case of early modern women's translations. While early feminist studies of women's translations had tended to read them in terms of the faithful domesticity imposed by the patriarchal order, more recent examinations of women's liminal writings have highlighted the acts of ideological, political, and religious positioning (and re-positioning) afforded by the paratexts of translated books.³⁰ Prefaces and dedications, for instance, could serve to carve out a discursive and authorial space for women, and to mark their place in transnational communities of readers, based on shared cultural, ideological, or religious concerns, and in which the circulation of printed translations played an important part.

Moving, then, from the level of micro-historical, contextual analysis to the broader perspectives of the European circulation of books and ideas, recent critical attention to the liminal spaces of translated books has proved equally stimulating. Terence Cave's volume on the paratexts of More's *Utopia* in early modern Europe, or more recently, Armstrong's work on *The English Boccaccio* offer an exciting way of tracing the reception of literary works and authors across time and space.³¹ Paratexts also yield essential information if one is to reconstruct the concatenated 'life cycles' of books, both in their original contexts, and in the receiving cultures in which they are translated, disseminated, and consumed, sometimes in a radically new shape.³² For, as demonstrated by Coldiron's work on paratext and *mise-en-page* in Wolfe's trilingual 1588 edition of Castiglione's *Courtier*, Armstrong's analysis of the visual codes at work in printed sixteenth-century English translations, and Joyce Boro's discussion of illustrated translations from the Spanish, the material features of the printed text could participate in the construction of the 'self' and the 'other' in print.³³ Again, the paratextual superstructure of the translated book often reflects the complex, even sometimes contradictory dynamics of cultural exchange in early modern Britain. On the one hand, titles, dedications, and other front material served as a means of linguistic, material, and cultural

‘domestication’, as translators routinely claimed to have ‘Englished’ their foreign source. On the other hand, in a context where Britain was still relatively marginal in the European book trade, and where writers and poets bemoaned its cultural belatedness in comparison to continental countries, strategic use of title-page, font, layout, and illustrations could equally convey a certain cosmopolitan gloss to the printed (translated) book.

As these critical developments clearly demonstrate, the study of printed translations and their paratexts represents a privileged entryway, as it were, into the inseparable issues of textual and material transmission, through the dual means of linguistic transfer and diffusion through print. Examining the liminal strategies of printed translations equally helps understand early modern constructions of Britain’s cultural self, in dynamic relation to the past, and to contemporary European intellectual and material cultures. Janus-faced by nature, the thresholds of early modern printed translations thus look both inwards and outwards. Clearly embedded in early modern British material culture, they provide a fascinating perspective on the making of that very culture through textual and material exchange. Their meta-discursive, or meta-cultural dimension, so to speak, invites us in turn to conduct a closer investigation of the codes, or languages of exchange involved in the paratexts of printed translations in early modern Britain.

TRANSLATION PARATEXTS AND THE LANGUAGES OF CULTURAL EXCHANGE

Recent criticism of Genette’s analysis of the forms and function of the paratext has amply underlined its historical shortcomings. In particular, early modern scholars have taken issue with Genette’s structuralist outlook, as reflected in the neatly arranged taxonomies he offers, in his linear approach to the reading of a book, and in his somewhat unidirectional conception of the functions of the paratext as an instrument of attraction and control. As noted above, his conceptions of the nature, modalities, and functions of printed paratexts do not fully correspond to early modern practices. Genette’s clear distinctions between text and paratext, and between ‘authorial’ and ‘allographic’ interventions, for instance, fail to take into account the often complex relationship between translation, authorship, and other modes of textual production, as well as the material

and interpretive porousness of borders between early modern texts and paratexts.³⁴ In fact, although Genette does not pay attention to translations *per se*, mainly envisaging them as paratexts to their original sources,³⁵ the few examples he does discuss tend to highlight the limits of his own taxonomy. Mentioning French translations of Conrad's novels, for instance, he recognises that 'the notion of "author" is not always clear and univocal'.³⁶ Closer to our concerns, he comments on the interpretive use of prefaces in early modern translations by Marot, Amyot, and other French humanists. While he considers such cases as early examples of 'allographic' paratexts—that is, penned by a source other than the (long dead) author—he immediately recognises, in a footnote, that 'the translator-preface-writer may comment ... on his own translation; on this point, and in this sense, his preface ceases to be allographic'.³⁷ Clearly, early modern translated texts and their prefaces defeat Genette's categorisation of translations as mere paratextual additions to the original, source text. As should be evident by now, we approach printed translations as texts (and books) in their own right, the historicity and materiality of which deserve specific investigation.

The corollary question here is whether one can identify specific uses of the paratext in translated books. Indeed, the case has clearly been made for reading early modern English literary translations as "original" works by authors who happen to be translating'.³⁸ Yet the analysis of material and interpretive strategies displayed in paratexts is potentially enriched if we keep in mind what Lawrence Venuti calls the 'relative autonomy' of translations, both in relation to their source, and to the culture in which they are produced.³⁹

Firstly, and almost obviously, while it is important to move beyond traditional, comparative approaches that tend to define the 'target' text in sole relation to its 'source', it is equally crucial to identify and recognise the various forms of transfer enacted in the paratexts of translated books. There are examples in recent scholarship in which the translational nature of the texts discussed is simply ignored, or where remarks originating in the source text are uncritically presented as the words of the translator.⁴⁰ Of course, translation implies, to a certain extent, the appropriation of the discourse developed in the original. Yet to simply conflate both authorial (or paratextual) voices results in critical confusion at the same time as it disregards the translator's potential agency in recreating, adapting, or redirecting the strategies initially developed in the source text. Similarly, studies of early modern paratexts sometimes include many examples of

translations, without acknowledging them as such, thus obscuring the specific liminal interventions that may accompany the acts of linguistic and cultural transfer involved in translation.⁴¹

In cases when printed translations carry over, even if only partially, the paratext from their original sources, various transformations may be at work. The ‘Englishing’ of titles, for example, engages both linguistic and cultural modes of transfer, as Hosington argues in her contribution to this volume. Material features can also effect changes through the use of different font; English black-letter can replace the original text’s roman, or italic fonts. Additions and omissions are naturally significant as markers of the agency of translators and/or printers in reorienting the translated text towards new readerships. Yet translated paratexts can equally work to create virtual communities of readers. By explicitly referring his readers to his French predecessor, Amyot, whose preface to the French translation of Plutarch’s *Lives* is integrally translated in his 1579 *Lives of the noble Grecians and Romans*, Thomas North does not merely bow to the cultural authority of his French precedent and intermediary. He also points to a shared perspective, among Protestant humanists, on the exemplary, moral reading of ancient history.⁴²

The paratexts of translations, whether translated or not, thus offer a privileged space to observe what André Lefevere has called the ‘manipulation of literary fame’ through translation. For example, in the preface to his translation of Cicero’s *De Officiis*, Nicholas Grimald shrewdly appeals to the Ciceronian precedent as he declares: ‘[t]hese riches, & treasures of witt, and wisdom, as Cicero transported oute of Greece into Italie: so have I fetched from thence, & conveied them into England’.⁴³ Others would similarly take advantage of the liminal spaces of their books to stage and exploit the *translatio studii* theme, and transfer onto themselves the cultural capital of their source.

This leads us to the second aspect in which the autonomy of printed translations is only ‘relative’: as products of their own, receiving culture, translations and the strategies they display are to be read against the background of contemporary literary and material practices. Here, again, this principle carries rich critical potential: it invites us to approach printed translations as ways of interrogating the various ‘cultural uses’, to quote Roger Chartier, of the printed paratext.⁴⁴ In fact, recent critical attention to liminal materials (especially in the early modern context) has led scholars to redefine Genette’s typologies of paratexts in terms of the goals they are designed to achieve in the early modern culture of print. As already

stated, Genette's clear separation between authorial and editorial interventions is not always relevant in the early modern context. Alternative typologies therefore focus, not so much on the nature of paratextual authority, so to speak, as on the functions played by the paratext, and on the interpretive and material codes engaged to that effect.

In her discussion of non-authorial agency in early modern printed books, Andie Silva thus adopts Dorothee Burke and Birte Christ's functional typology distinguishing between 'interpretive', 'navigational', and 'commercial' uses of printed paratexts.⁴⁵ The cases discussed in this volume offer examples of each, with prefaces, prologues, and marginal commentaries falling clearly in the 'interpretive' category; chapter headings, inter-titles, indices, and certain marginal notes corresponding to the 'navigational' kind; and the bombastic language of some title-pages, as well as the attractive power of frontispiece portraits and illustrations participating in the 'commercial' value of the translated book. However, as is often the case with typologies, these categories tend to overlap; printed marginalia may, for instance, serve as both 'interpretive' and 'navigational' functions. Ornamental title-pages sometimes illustrate the contents of the book at the same time as they enhance its commercial value. The titles of translated books may also present an element of intertextuality that fully participates in the generic and ideological encoding of the translation. In some cases, when they make full mention of the translation's sources, even sometimes tracing the cultural and linguistic intermediaries involved in its genesis, paratexts tell 'histories of translation' (to borrow Boutcher's expression), and thus fashion the reception of translated 'books for sale'.⁴⁶

In the specific context of printed translations, Guyda Armstrong suggests another kind of classification, inspired this time from functionalist translation theory and its underlying work on textual typologies.⁴⁷ The proposed categories are based on the discursive, material, and semiotic 'codes' employed in the paratexts of printed books. First come authorial paratexts (translated from the original) and editorial paratexts (penned by the translator or printer), both of which could perhaps be grouped as 'discursive' paratexts, since they rely on various kinds of rhetorical and discursive genres (the preface, the formal epistle, etc.) and strategies. The second proposed category is that of 'organisational' paratexts, comprising title-pages, tables of contents, running titles, etc. 'Visual' paratexts finally refer to illustrated title-pages, frontispiece plates, decorative letters and other visual ornaments, but also to *mise-en-page* strategies and other elements of

graphic design. Here again, naturally, the categories overlap, but what is most interesting in Armstrong's approach is that she precisely argues that these aspects should be considered together, in relationship to one another, as they exploit distinctive linguistic, discursive, and visual codes in order to delineate the textual, material, and cultural functions of the translated book.⁴⁸

Armstrong's emphasis on the variety of semiotic codes at work in the pages of early modern printed translations has important implications for the study of the latter as cultural and material objects. Far from limiting translation to mere linguistic transfer, such an approach recognises the way translators and their printers engage in a variety of cultural idioms, as they exploit, transfer, or reinvent discursive, literary, as well as material and social conventions. That the 'Englishing' of foreign books should happen at multiple levels suggests in turn a dialogical interaction between these various modes of material and cultural representation. Indeed, the languages of the book reveal the complex dynamics of textual and cultural transmission, making visible the many mediations (linguistic, human, or material), involved in the production of printed translations. Ultimately, the holistic, multi-modal approach suggested by Armstrong tends to defeat the very notion of 'paratext' as a liminal, marginal device.

MAKING THE LIMINAL CENTRAL

By approaching early modern print culture from the combined perspectives of translation and paratextual practices, this collection challenges the 'marginal' place long afforded to both activities in scholarly accounts of early modern literary culture. While the relative 'invisibility' of translation in early modern studies is now being countered by a clear 'translation turn' in the field, marginality is still the fate of liminal practices, according to Richard McCabe as recently as 2016.⁴⁹ The ten essays in this volume demonstrate this is not the case, in fact enacting the critical shift he recommends when he notes that "dedications [among other liminal material] need to be read as "textual" rather than "paratextual", integral rather than "liminal".⁵⁰ Furthermore, these studies explore the rich variety of paratextual practices demonstrated in early modern English and Scottish translations by examining a wide range of genres and book formats, from translations of the Classics to early modern political treatises, and from humanist or royalist high culture to the many polemic tracts that circulated in translation in the early modern British book market.

The volume is divided into two parts. In the first, entitled 'Fashioning Translation: Textual, Material, and Cultural Transfer in Early Modern Books', four essays discuss the various ways in which paratexts could reshape and refashion the translations they accompanied, while also revealing the textual, cultural, and material exchanges enacted in the process of translation. Early modern notions of materiality, as Helen Smith demonstrates in the first essay, were indeed shaped in translation; conversely, translation prefaces and dedications borrowed and adapted from ancient and contemporary theories of matter to discuss the very practice of linguistic transfer. Generative theories of matter and form were thus reframed to explain the operations and transformations of language and texts as a physical transmission. Smith identifies the various paratextual and material markers that, through translation in its broadest sense, presented English readers with classical concepts of matter and helped in turn generate new conceptions of materiality, as effected in (translated) language, generic form, and the early printed book.

Fashioning foreign texts, or 'redressing' them, to use a related metaphor found in many an early modern translator's preface, takes different forms, as demonstrated in the following three essays. One concerns the translator's visibility and its significance for concepts of authorship. Lawrence Venuti's now famous depiction of the translator as the 'invisible' creator of a transparent and fluidly written text is problematic for early modern translations, as Anne Coldiron has argued elsewhere. Here, in 'The Translator's Visibility in Early Printed Portrait-Images and the Ambiguous Example of Margaret More Roper', she demonstrates how one form of visibility is provided by the inclusion of 'authorial'-style portraits that challenge the implicit or explicit author-functions of a book. First discussing a selection of translators portrayed in woodcuts and engravings, she then offers an in-depth analysis of the woodcut adorning the frontispiece prefacing Margaret More Roper's translation of Erasmus's *Precatio dominica*, which she reads as a particularly complex and ambiguous case of 'anonymous visibility'.

Another form of visibility is that explored by Brenda Hosington, who examines the role of translated titles as 'standard-bearers' in the early modern culture of print. She studies in particular the titles of translations issued by three significant printers of the period: Richard Pynson, John Wolfe, and Thomas Harper. As well as fulfilling the traditional functions of titles (denotative, connotative, hermeneutic, commercial), translated titles, by being intertextual, represent a transfer of cultural capital and an

exchange of connotative values. They provide a space within which the foreign can be made visible through explicit presentation, or invisible through ‘domestication’ for a new readership, and frequently enhance the translator and translation by also giving them visibility.

In the last essay in this section, Joyce Boro examines a different form of fashioning through paratextual materials, namely the portrayal of Spain for the early seventeenth-century readers of Spanish-English translations. Examining the accompanying title-pages, prefaces, dedications, printed marginal glosses, and woodcut illustrations against the backdrop of continuing tension between Spain and England and the negotiations of the Spanish Match, Boro demonstrates how these paratexts advertised or obscured the source texts’ Spanish origins, sometimes provided commentary on Anglo-Spanish relations, and provided an opportunity for discussing cultural, religious, ethnic, and political differences between Spain and England.

The second part of the volume offers six case studies of texts and translations demonstrating the various ‘cultural uses’ of paratexts as vectors of linguistic, social, and cultural exchange. Marie-Alice Belle explores the ways in which Gavin Douglas’s prologues to his 1513 *Eneados* present a moralising discourse warning both men and women against carnal love, and exploit conventional associations between (gendered) readership, book format, and generic form to position his translation in the nascent British literary field. She then turns to William Copland’s material and editorial interventions in his 1553 edition of the *Eneados*, showing how he redirects Douglas’s translation towards a specific, male-oriented pedagogical use, while at the same time capitalising on a renewed interest for romance in the early Marian context.

Petrarch enjoyed great favour in Scotland and his *Trionfi* were the subject of two translations, one manuscript and the other printed, neither of which has received the attention it deserves. In her analysis of the prologues and dedicatory epistles in both translations, Alessandra Petrina argues that William Fowler’s and Anna Hume’s paratexts underline the connections between the work’s elevated matter, the respective dedicatees’ aristocratic status, and the circle of intended readers. However, they also frame the conceptual complexity of Petrarch’s thought and signal the translators’ appropriation of his poem in a process of ‘transrecreation’ that draws him into an emerging Scottish canon of international works.

The many paratexts of Thomas More’s *Utopia* have, on the contrary, been the subject of much discussion on account of their variety and originality. Those appearing in the five editions of Ralph Robinson’s English

translation, however, have not. In her examination of the ‘protean paratexts’ accompanying it, Gabriela Schmidt sets this to rights. She argues that the changes that take place between 1551 (date of the first edition) and 1639 (date of the last) reflect the various strategies of self-positioning necessitated on the part of the translator and his printers by a fluctuating religious situation, an exploitation of fashionable trends on the literary market, and the concerted effort on the part of English Catholics to depict More as a martyr and hero—as seen for example, in the inclusion of two frontispiece portraits.

The politics of translation are at the heart of Giovanni Iamartino and Alessandra Manzi’s study of the translations of Virgilio Malvezzi’s *Romulo* and *Il Tarquino Superbo* by Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth. Through minute examination of the new paratextual framing of the translations, printed in one volume in 1637, the authors demonstrate how two Italian political texts were refashioned to advance the specifically English royalist cause. The liminal material not only sheds light on Carey’s cultural and ideological positioning, but also on the role played by printers in the fashioning of the ‘two cultures’ pitting royalists against republicans in late Caroline England.

Although addressing a similar context, Line Cottegnies’s essay focuses on other forms of cultural exchange by means of translation and paratext. She examines how, in his 1640 edition of Jonson’s ‘Englished’ *Ars Poetica*, the bookseller John Benson included several pieces praising the poet as a second Horace, an outstanding writer and dramatist, and an accomplished translator. Comparing Benson’s paratexts with those displayed in his edition of Shakespeare’s poems, she argues that, as a marketing strategy, they reflect the cultural significance and increasing commodification of translation in the mid-seventeenth century; moreover, they make *The Art of Poetry* Jonson’s own poetic manifesto, thus blurring the distinction between author and translator.

The final essay by Warren Boutcher discusses the questions of translation and cultural exchange in the 1640s from a different paratextual perspective, that of booksellers’ catalogues. Focusing on the contrasting cases of the well-known Humphrey Moseley and far less well-known William London, he examines the discourse on translation and print dissemination articulated in the prefaces to their catalogues, and identifies their respective strategies in advertising their lists of ‘vendible’ translations. By doing so, Boutcher highlights the place and status of translated material in the

English book trade and its role in shaping the English canon, as well as the agency of booksellers in circulating ‘foreign books’ among early modern print networks.

Together, the studies in this collection offer a variegated account of the various material shapes, textual forms, and cultural uses of paratexts as markers (and makers) of cultural exchange in early modern Britain. While the essays may sometimes focus on specific kinds of liminal material, or on individual examples of ‘imaginative engagement’ with paratext and print, they have at their core a strong commitment to reading text, paratext, and context together, as complementary aspects of the (printed) translated book. In so doing, they seek to illuminate key social and material aspects of the ‘culture of translation’ in early modern Britain, at the same time as they illustrate the importance of translation in the complex array of practices, products, and attitudes that make early modern Britain’s print culture.

NOTES

1. *Le Cid. A Tragicomedy, out of the French Made English* ... (London: John Haviland for Thomas Walk[e], 1637).
2. We borrow the phrase from the subtitle of *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), Janet E. Lewing’s English translation of Genette’s *Seuils* (Paris: Seuil, 1987).
3. Michael Saenger, *The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 23ff.
4. One of the most useful publications in that respect is Helen Smith and Louise Wilson’s collection, *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
5. See on this Saenger, *Commodification*, but also Paul Voss, ‘Books for Sale: Advertising and Patronage in Late Elizabethan England’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 29.3 (1998), 733–56; Randall Anderson, ‘The Rhetoric of Paratext in Early Printed Books’, in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. 4: 1557–1695*, edited by John Barnard, Donald F. McKenzie, and Maureen Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 636–44; or, more recently, Jonathan Olson, “‘Newly Amended and Much Enlarged’: Claims of Novelty and Enlargement on the Title Pages of Reprints in the Early Modern English Book Trade”, *History of European Ideas*, 42.5 (2016), 618–28.
6. See for example Richard McCabe’s study of dedications in “*Ungainefull Arte*”: *Poetry, Patronage, and Print in the Early Modern Era* (Oxford:

- Oxford University Press, 2016). On the role of paratexts in shaping the author's (or translator's) relationship to authorities and power, see also Evelyn Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1993).
7. William R. Slights, *Managing Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004).
 8. See on this McCabe, "Ungainefull Arte", but also Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 69–136 in particular.
 9. Smith and Wilson, *Renaissance Paratexts*, p. 6.
 10. Elizabeth Eisenstein, 'The Advent of Printing and the Problem of the Renaissance', *Past & Present*, 45.1 (1969), 19–89, and *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969). See also the works of Lucien Febvre and Henri Martin, who approach the development of print in rather similar terms in *L'apparition du livre* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1958), translated by Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and David Wootton as *The Coming of the Book* (London: Verso, 1976). For a critique of the assumed 'fixity' of print, see Donald McKenzie, *Making Meaning: 'Printers of the Mind' and Other Essays*, edited by Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez (Amherst/Boston: University of Massachusetts Press); Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); and more generally, *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, edited by Sabrina Alcor Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, and Eleanor F. Shevlin (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press; Washington, D.C.: in association with the Center for the Book, Library of Congress, 2007).
 11. Smith and Wilson, *Renaissance Paratexts*, p. 14.
 12. Perhaps the best antidote to such commonplace statements is to be found in the 500-page volume of *English Renaissance Translation Theory* edited by Neil Rhodes, with Gordon Kendal and Louise Wilson (London: MHRA, 2013), which is mainly composed of excerpts from prefaces and other discursive paratexts of translations (manuscript and printed) in early modern Britain.
 13. See on this Anne E. B. Coldiron, 'Metaphors and Commonplaces', in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation into English, Volume 2: 1558–1660*, edited by Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings, and Stuart Gillespie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 109–17.
 14. See, respectively, Neil Rhodes, 'Status Anxiety and English Renaissance Translation', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, pp. 107–20, and Anne E. B. Coldiron, 'Visibility Now: Historicizing Foreign Presences in Translation', *Translation Studies*, 5.2 (2012), 189–200.

15. This is also argued by Brenda M. Hosington, 'The *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Catalogue*: A Witness to the Importance of Translation in Early Modern Britain', in *The Book Triumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, edited by Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 253–69, and 'The Role of Translators and Translations in Producing English Incunabula', in *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print, and Culture in Britain*, edited by Sara Barker and Brenda M. Hosington (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 3–20.
16. *Here begynneth the volume intituled and named the recuyell of the historyes of Troye ... translated and drawn out of frenshe in to englysshe by Willyam Caxton ...* (Bruges(?): William Caxton, 1473), n.p.
17. See on this last point Marie-Alice Belle, 'At the Interface between Translation History and Literary History', *The Translator*, 20.1 (2014), 44–63 (pp. 50–1). It is also important to note that some printed translations had a manuscript afterlife. This is the case for example of Mary Sidney Herbert's translation of Philippe de Mornay's *Discours de la vie et de la mort*, published by Ponsonby in 1592 as *A Discourse of Life and Death*, several passages of which were copied and adapted as 'A Discourse of the Tediousness of Life' by Elizabeth Ashburnham Richardson (see Margaret P. Hannay, 'Elizabeth Ashburnham Richardson's Meditation on the Countess of Pembroke's Discourse', *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700*, 9 (2000), 114–28). We are grateful to Marie-Louise Coolahan for pointing this example out to us.
18. Margaret Tudeau-Clayton, 'Supplementing the *Aeneid* in Early Modern England: Translation, Imitation, Commentary', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 4.4 (1998), 507–25.
19. Note, however, that both in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and in Harington's translation, the marginal apparatus clearly serves to advertise the work's relation to the classical epic tradition. On the distinction between 'horizontal' and 'vertical' translation, see Rhodes, 'Introduction', in *English Renaissance Translation Theory*, pp. 32–3.
20. Helen Moore, 'Gathering Fruit: The "Profitable" Translations of Thomas Paynell', in *Tudor Translation*, edited by Fred Schurink (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 39–57 (p. 43).
21. Guyda Armstrong, 'Framing *Fiametta*: Gender, Authorship, and Voice in an Elizabethan Translation of Boccaccio', in *Elizabethan Translation and Literary Culture*, edited by Gabriela Schmidt (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), pp. 299–340, and 'Paratexts and their Functions in Seventeenth-Century English *Decamerons*', *The Modern Language Review*, 102.1 (2007), 40–57. See also her recent work on the writings of the Italian libertine 'Accademia degli Incogniti' and their transformations through English translation in

- the Cavalier circles of the 1650s ('From Boccaccio to the *Incogniti*: The Cultural Politics of the Italian Tale in English Translation in the Seventeenth Century', in *Seventeenth-Century Fiction: Text and Transmission*, edited by Jacqueline Glomski and Isabelle Moreau (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 159–82). On the framing of *querelle* texts through translation and paratext, see Anne E. B. Coldiron, *English Printing, Verse Translation, and the Battle of the Sexes, 1476–1557* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009); and Brenda M. Hosington, 'Giovanni Bruto, Alexandre de Pontaymeri, and the Tasso Cousins Cross the Channel: The Transforming Power of Translation and Paratext in the *querelle des femmes*', in *Fideli, diligenti, chiari e dotti: Traduttori e traduzione nel Rinascimento*, edited by Elisa Gregori (Padua: CLEUPSC, 2016), pp. 259–76.
22. On paratexts as a place of 'multiplication' and potential destabilisation of authorial voices, see also Armstrong, 'Framing *Fiametta*', and Marie-Alice Belle, "'Mysteries divulg'd": Philemon Holland's Paratexts and the Translation of Pliny's *Natural History* in Early Modern England', *Meta: The Translators' Journal*, 61 (2016), 60–79.
 23. See Terence Cave's analysis of the 'duplicity' of *copia* in *The Cornucopian Text: Problems of Writing in the French Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979); and Judith Anderson's discussion in *Words that Matter: Linguistic Perception in Renaissance English* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996). The implications for the theory and practice of translation in early modern England are discussed in Marie-Alice Belle, 'Elizabethan Defences of Translation, from Rhetoric to Poetics', in *Elizabethan Translation and Literary Culture*, pp. 43–79 (pp. 51–8). For an extreme example of the *copia* of translation, see Anne Lake Prescott's 'Urquhart's Inflationary Universe', in *The Culture of Translation in Early Modern England and France, 1500–1600*, edited by Tania Demetriou and Rowan Tomlinson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 175–90.
 24. *The Essayes or Morall, Politike and Militarie Discourses: of Lord Michaell de Montaigne ... now done into English by ... Iohn Florio* (London: Edward Blount, 1603), sig. A5^v.
 25. McCabe, "Ungainefull Arte", 'Introduction', pp. 1–12.
 26. Fred Schurink, 'Print, Patronage, and Occasion: Translations of Plutarch's *Moralia* in Tudor England', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 38.1/2 (2008), 86–101.
 27. On the notion of 'print authorship', see Martin Elsky, *Authorizing Words: Speech, Writing and Print in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989); Margaret Ezell, *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); or again, Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).

28. Mary Partridge, 'Thomas Hoby's English Translation of Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*', *The Historical Journal*, 5.4 (2007), 769–86.
29. To quote Peter Culhane's study of Holland's Livy translations, 'Philemon Holland's Livy: Peritexts and Contexts', *Translation and Literature*, 13.2 (2004), 268–86. The notion of 'peritext' is taken from Genette, who actually distinguishes between liminal elements immediately surrounding the text (title-pages, prefaces, addresses to the reader, etc., hence peritext) and broader paratextual devices such as promotional texts, interviews with the author, etc. (Genette, *Thresholds*, p. 5). Here we will use the generic 'paratext' to address both strictly peritextual elements and other paratextual devices such as publisher's catalogues discussed by Warren Boutcher in this volume.
30. See, among others, Patricia Demers's introduction to her edition of Anne Cooke Bacon's *Apology or Answer in Defence of The Church Of England* (London: MHRA, 2015); Jaime Goodrich's analyses in *Faithful Translators: Authorship, Gender, and Religion in Early Modern England* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2014); Brenda M. Hosington and Hannah Fournier, 'Translation and Women Translators', in *The Encyclopedia of Women in the Renaissance: Italy, France and England*, edited by Diana M. Robin, Anne Larsen, and Carole Levin (Santa Barbara: University of California Press, 2007), pp. 369–72; or the works of Micheline White, amongst which 'Renaissance Englishwomen and Religious Translations: The Case of Anne Lock's "Of the Markes of the Children of God" (1590)', *English Literary Renaissance*, 29.3 (1999), 375–400.
31. *Thomas More's Utopia in Early Modern Europe: Paratexts and Contexts*, edited by Terence Cave (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008); and Guyda Armstrong, *The English Boccaccio: A History in Books* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).
32. See on this Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda M. Hosington, 'Translation, History, and Print: A Model for the Study of Printed Translations in Early Modern Britain', *Translation Studies*, 10.1 (2017), 2–21.
33. Coldiron, *Printers Without Borders*, pp. 172–97; Guyda Armstrong, 'Coding Continental: Information Design in Sixteenth-Century English Vernacular Language Manuals and Translations', *Renaissance Studies*, 29.1 (2015), 78–102; Joyce Boro, 'Multilingualism, Romance, and Language Pedagogy; or, Why Were So Many Sentimental Romances Printed as Polyglot Texts?', in *Tudor Translation*, pp. 18–38.
34. An eloquent example of the instability of textual authority, and even of the very 'authorial function' (*fonction auteur*) in early modern printed paratexts of translations is to be found in Louise Wilson's 'Playful Paratexts: The Front Matter of Anthony Munday's Spanish Romance Translations', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, pp. 121–32.

35. Genette does note, concerning translated titles, that 'we could use a whole study of this practice', but he does not address the transfers of meaning and authority that underlie the practice, and returns to the issue of authorial control, as he ponders 'whether the author was consulted on this point' (*Thresholds*, p. 70, n. 16).
36. Genette, *Thresholds*, p. 130.
37. Genette, *Thresholds*, p. 263 and p. 264, n. 22.
38. Warren Boutcher, 'The Renaissance', in *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, edited by Peter France (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 46.
39. Lawrence Venuti, 'Translation, Intertextuality, Interpretation', *Romance Studies*, 27.3 (2009), 157–73.
40. See for example Douglas Robinson's 'Theorizing Translation in a Woman's Voice: Subverting the Rhetoric of Patronage, Courtly Love and Morality', *The Translator*, 1.2 (1995), 153–75, which confusingly attributes Jean-Pierre Camus's prefatorial epistle to his translator, Susan du Verger (even if du Verger explicitly calls it 'The Authors Epistle to the Reader'), and attributes Marguerite de Navarre's preface to her *Miroir de l'âme pecheresse* to her translator, the Princess Elizabeth. See Brenda M. Hosington on the consequences of Robinson's misattributions in 'Collaboration, Authorship, and Gender in the Paratexts Accompanying Translations by Susan du Verger and Judith Man', in *Gender, Authorship, and Early Modern Women's Collaboration*, edited by Patricia Pender (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 159–82.
41. See McCabe, "Ungainefull Arte", or Matthew Day's stimulating essay on running titles ("Intended to Offenders": The Running Titles of Early Modern Books') in *Renaissance Paratexts*, pp. 34–47.
42. *The liues of the noble Grecians and Romanes, compared together by that graue learned Philosopher and Historiographer, Plutarke of Chaeronea: Translated out of Greeke into French by Iames Amyot, Abbot of Bellozane, Bishop of Auxerre, one of the Kings priuy counsel, and great Amner of Fraunce, and out of French into Englishe, by Thomas North* (London: Thomas Vautroullier, 1579), sig. *iii^r.
43. *Marcus Tullius Ciceroes thre bokes of duties to Marcus his sonne, turned out of latine into english, by Nicolas Grimalde* (London: Tottel, 1556), sig. [CCv]^v.
44. See Roger Chartier, 'Introduction' to *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Roger Chartier and translated by Lydia Cochrane (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 1–10.
45. Dorothee Burke and Birte Christ, 'Paratext and Digitized Narrative: Mapping the Field', *Narrative*, 21.1 (2013), 65–87, quoted in Andie Silva, 'Mediated Technologies: Locating Non-Authorial Agency in Printed and Digital Texts', *History of European Ideas*, 42.5 (2016), 607–17.

46. On this, see also Warren Boutcher, 'From Cultural Translation to Cultures of Translation', in *Cultures of Translation*, pp. 22–40 (p. 30).
47. The categories detailed below are first established in 'Paratexts and their Functions'; Armstrong also uses them in 'Framing *Fiametta*', before discussing them again in the light of functionalist typologies of texts and translations in 'Coding Continental'.
48. Armstrong, 'Coding Continental', pp. 78–9.
49. On the 'translation turn' in early modern studies, see Joshua Reid's review article, 'The Enchantments of Circe: Translation Studies and the English Renaissance', *The Spenser Review* 44.1.6 (2014), <http://www.english.cam.ac.uk/spenseronline/review/volume-44/441/translation-studies/>, accessed 17 September 2017. For McCabe's challenge to the marginal place of liminal materials in early modern accounts of early modern English print culture, see "*Ungainefull Arte*", pp. 3–4.
50. McCabe, "*Ungainefull Arte*", p. 4.

PART I

Fashioning Translation: Textual,
Material, and Cultural Transfer in
Early Modern Books



CHAPTER 2

Matter in the Margins

Helen Smith

In his *Apologie for Raymond Sebond*, Michel de Montaigne explains: ‘It is easie to translate such authours, where nothing but the matter is to be represented; but hard & dangerous, to vndertake such as have added much to the grace and elegancie of the language, namely to reduce them into a weaker and poorer tongue.’¹ It is a statement that neatly encapsulates one of the central problems facing the Renaissance translator, and which may have given Montaigne’s own English interpreter, John Florio, some pause, as he wrestled with the intricacies of his author’s expressive French. The relationship of words to matter—of particular terms to the meaning and substance of the text—was crucial to translation, as it was to rhetorical proficiency more generally. In this chapter, I briefly explore early modern English translators’ and rhetoricians’ attitudes to this central question, before going on to explore how matter was illuminated, debated, and expanded in the margins of classical translations and instructions to schoolmasters. In these accounts, literary matter emerges as palpable: possessed of heft and substance, and capable of being weighed and measured. It is, in other words, remarkably akin to the physical stuff of the cosmos. With this generative conceptual and etymological

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overlap in mind, the final section of this chapter turns to two translations of Virgil's *Eclogues*, which address an exemplary moment at which the 'matter' of translation is precisely the 'matter' of the world.

Throughout this chapter, I am alert to the expressive space of the page, and its relationship to the work of translation. In particular, I address what William Slights terms the 'elaborate scaffolds of printed marginalia' which are a striking feature of so many early modern English texts.² The margins of the page were spaces in which the borders between languages and bodies of knowledge were negotiated; they make visible the multiplying potential of translation. As Slights points out in his playful enumeration of the functions of the printed marginal note, one of the roles of the margin may be precisely 'Translation: offering English versions of foreign phrases or paraphrases of obscure English expressions'.³ Margins also offered up foreign words and debates about meaning to readers, as well as containing alternative translations and signposts to the author's matter. Especially in the case of translation, I argue, printed marginalia function not as a subsidiary or belated 'scaffold', but as a zone of thought and intellectual negotiation. Not simply commenting upon or pointing to the translation proper, the margins of the book were a site at which crucial acts of translation and interpretation took place, and in which the matter of the text was unfolded, identified, and explored.

WORDS AND MATTER

Debates as to whether it was the translator's duty to transpose words, or matter, or both, date back at least to Cicero. In his *De optimo genere oratorum*, described by Neil Rhodes as 'the key source text for Renaissance translation theory',⁴ Cicero boasts of his translations of Aeschines and Demosthenes, 'the two most eloquent Attic orators', asserting: 'I did not translate them as an interpreter, but as an orator, keeping the same ideas and the forms ... of thought, but in language which conforms to our usage. And in so doing, I did not hold it necessary to render word for word, but I preserved the general style and force of the language.'⁵ Cicero's concern is for the matter, or sense, of his authors, which he aims to convey to his readers in terms that capture the energy and meaning of the originals, rather than transliterating their words.

This Ciceronian commonplace pervaded Renaissance writing on both translation and rhetoric. Thomas Wilson, in *The arte of rhetorique*, was one of many authors to echo Cicero's insistence on the need to match sense

and language; he declared that the words a writer chooses should ‘be apt and mete, moste properly to sette out the matter’.⁶ Two years later, Richard Sherry asked his readers to ‘let this be y^e first care, to speake euidently after the dignitie and nature of the matter: & to vtter suche wordes, whiche as Cicero sayth in his oratour, no man may iustly reprehend’.⁷ The relationship between words and matter is more complex than the simple opposition of literal translation to paraphrase suggests. Sherry warns would-be orators against numerous faults, including ‘Perittologia, a superfluous addyng of woordes, without any pythe of matter’; tautology, ‘when with great yrcksomnes we double the matter’; ‘Periergia, when in a small matter we spend many wordes, & labour much in vain’; and ‘Asiatismus, a kynde of endighting vsed of the Asians, full of figures, and wordes, lackyng matter’, an intriguing errant figure which associates decorative language with foreign excess. He also, however, complains of ‘Tapinosis, when a weightie & high matter is brought downe by basnes of a worde’ (sigs. B1^r–B2^r). The speaker’s or translator’s words must not only be matched with sufficient though not extraneous substance, but must also reflect and encapsulate the nature of the matter they contain: a ‘high’ subject deserves elegant terms, while a low theme requires a corresponding grossness of language.

Reflecting on his translation of Cicero’s *De amicitia*, Sir John Harington (c.1517–82) explained that it had come about as a result of his imprisonment in the Tower of London. Determined ‘to auoide my olde idlenesse, to recompense my lost time, and to take profite of my calamitee’, he set himself to learning French, grateful to be surrounded by ‘both skilful prisoners to enstruct me, and therto plenty of books to learne the language’.⁸ Harington’s account reflects in miniature the mediated routes through which many texts entered into English: his translation was from the French, but he had his text corrected against the Latin ‘to thende the sence might not be chaunged, nor the goodnes of the matter by shift of tounes, muche minished’ (sig. A3^v).⁹ Harington’s concern is to preserve the matter of his author, despite the two-fold transformation of his words. He expresses his delight at the result in vivid metaphors: ‘me thought a new spirite and life was geuen it, and many partes semed as it were with a new cote araied, aswell for the orderly placing and eloquently changeyng of some woordes, as also for the plainly opening and learnedly amending of the sence, whiche in the Freenche translacion was somewhat darkened, and by me for lacke of knowlage in many places missed’ (sig. A4^r). Massimiliano Morini describes the trope of dressing a text in new clothes

as one of the essential metaphors of English Renaissance translation theory; here, it expresses the energies of careful correction.¹⁰ The text's transformation is not limited to the improvement of its words, but extends to the explanation and emendation of its matter.

Concerns over the relationship between words and matter reached their apotheosis in debates around the translation of scripture, which required a particular faithfulness on the part of the translator.¹¹ Defending the rendering of the Bible into English, William Fulke argued against word-for-word translation, insisting that when the Apostles transformed the Old Testament into the New, their concern was for 'the substance of the sentence, & not the forme of words'.¹² In 1603, Bishop Henry King suggested that George Sandys had achieved the pinnacle of eloquence in his translation of the Psalms, 'which you have mended in the form, and built anew', assuring Sandys, 'None can condemn the wish or labour spent / Good matter in good words to represent'.¹³ Where Fulke, in a broadly Aristotelian conception, opposes underlying matter to shaping form, King presents a possible pun, celebrating Sandys's correction of the essential character of the psalms but also, perhaps, the shaping 'forme' of the printing house, in which the lines of type were set.

These debates had a particular charge in the context of Christian theology: they concerned not only the correct way to approach translation, but the nature of the scriptures as manifestations of the divine word. The problems of translation mirrored the corruptions inherent to a fallen world in which God's word had to be mediated through the inadequacies of human language. This relationship was expressive of the mysteries of Christ: the relationship between letter and spirit, or between word and Word, 'provided a way for Christians to imagine the dialectic of immanence and transcendence at the heart of a religion with an ineffable, transcendent God who takes on human flesh'.¹⁴ Such a transformation was effected in miniature during the ceremony of the Eucharist, in which the sacrament was structured around both matter (the bread and wine) and a ritual form of words. These are the distinctions with which Henry Ainsworth grappled in 1609, as he sought to distinguish between the Apocrypha and the canon, arguing that 'The Apocryphal vvritings are humane both in matter and form, in language, letter, words, sentences, method and order: the book of God set over into English, notwithstanding the difference of the letters and sounds, is yet for the substance divine, the words, sentences and methode heavenly.'¹⁵ Biblical matter remains divine, even as the words in which it is conveyed are changed from one tongue to another.

Three years after the publication of the King James Bible, the famous controversialist John White defended the new translation against the attacks of John Percy, better known by his alias of ‘Fisher the Jesuit’, in a chapter ‘*Touching our English translations of the Bible*’. The chapter’s running titles—the short headers at the top of each page—mutate through ‘English Translations’ to ‘English Translations of the Bible.’, ‘How we know Translations to be true.’, ‘On English Translations of the Bible, defended.’, ‘The Translation newly done, defended.’, and ‘How the vnlearned are assured Translations are true.’, suggesting the energy informing debates around the translation and dissemination of the scriptures. These pages neatly illustrate Matthew Day’s contention that early modern running titles were frequently used to polemical and rhetorical ends; encapsulating White’s own ‘matter’, they act both as a navigational aid and as an epitome of his argument.¹⁶ Plunging into debates around the transposition of biblical matter, White argues that it is scarcely blasphemous to suggest ‘that our English translations, as all other translations in the world whatsoever, are not infallible, nor free from all errors in *words*: and yet the sence and matter of the Scripture translated ... be stil maintained to be infallible’.¹⁷ Though the words of the text might be corrupted or mistaken, its divine substance remains free from human error. Such knotty questions about the nature of the scripture illustrate the extent to which, to borrow the influential terms of Brian Cummings, grammar and grace were intertwined.¹⁸

These difficulties were, some commentators noted, already embedded in the scriptures. Discussing the translation of Job 9:14, ‘How much less shall I answer him, *and* choose out my words *to reason* with him?’, Joseph Caryl pointed to the ambiguity of the Hebrew, noting that ‘the word which we translate [*words*] may signifie not only words with which matter is cloathed, but the matter it self cloathed with those words’.¹⁹ Caryl’s *mise-en-page* participates in the work of translation, setting forth both the word in question and a learned, Latin commentary upon its meaning. He (or rather his compositor) sets the Hebrew ‘davar’, meaning both ‘thing’ and ‘word’, in the margin, followed by a Latin explanation: ‘Significat causam aut rationem, & sic eligere verba est novas in venare rationes vel argumenta ad suam causam suciendam’ (It means cause or reason, and therefore to choose words is to realise new reasons or arguments to support their cause) (Fig. 2.1).

Placing a foreign-language word in the margin tested both the skill and the available typefaces of the printer and compositor. It allowed the book

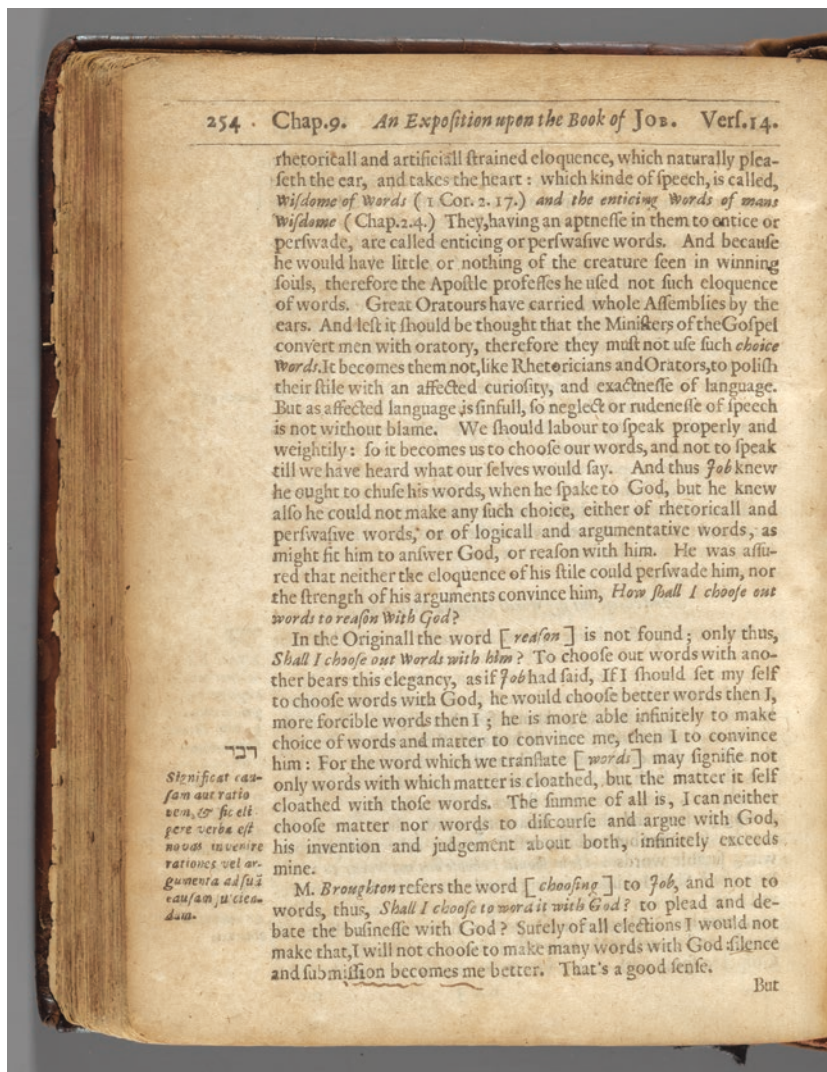


Fig. 2.1 Joseph Caryl, *An exposition with practicall observations continued upon the eighth, ninth and tenth chapters of the book of Job* (London, 1647), Kk3v. Houghton Library, Harvard University *EC65.C2596.647ea

to enact a version of what Anne Coldiron terms ‘compressed translation patterns’ in which ‘multiple language versions of a work ... are brought into one textual space’.²⁰ The hierarchies of foreign-language knowledge are materialised on the page, with English-language readers confined to the text block, while Latinists enter into debate with the margins where they might enjoy the possibility of further hermeneutic work, since the Latin ‘causa’ could also mean ‘thing’, and was often used in that sense throughout the Middle Ages. The Latin explanation, in other words, repeats the ambiguity of the Hebrew term, muddling cause and matter. For a very few readers, the Hebrew offers itself for understanding and interpretation. For the majority, however, the carefully placed letters in the margin stand in for language knowledge: a material, marginal pledge of Caryl’s scholarly authority.²¹

This kind of marginal structure inverts the assumed paratextual relationship between translation and text. Where our usual assumption is that the central text block presents the ‘original’, transformed into another language, the presence of a foreign language in the margin marks the text as the site of supplement or explication. In 1660, Thomas Pierce, an Anglican apologist who later became Dean of Salisbury, published *An impartial inquiry into the nature of sin*, a sally in a pamphlet war in which he engaged opponents including Henry Whitfield, William Barlee, and the ejected minister Henry Hickman. As part of his defence, Pierce declares that ‘Mr. *Hickman* bewrayes the depth of his *Ignorance in Greek*, whilest he thinks I *translate* whatsoever he seeth in my *Margin*, which for the far greatest part, I onely *accommodate*, and *apply*. And what I really *Translate*, I ever own the Translating of; directing my readers by my *Margin*, where the *Original is to be found*.’²² This rebuttal opens up a series of terms which equally embrace translation and theology: accommodation and application were important tools by which ministers moulded God’s word and made it suitable to the ears of their hearers.²³ The margins of Pierce’s text are the site of the original, sometimes left untranslated, but ‘applied’, at other times converted into English, but still verified by the parallel presence of the Greek.

The terms of words and matter thus engage with more substantial questions, and are more intricate, than their commonplace deployment by translators and rhetoricians encourages us to assume. In searching out ways to convey ‘matter’, authors had to attend not only to the size and heft of their text’s intellectual substance, but also to its energy, tone, and subject. More than that, and particularly when the translation of the Bible was at

stake, in entering into the thorny puzzles of translation, interpreters entered into the defining questions of Christian theology, and of the divine book.

MATTER IN THE MARGINS

Ludus literarius: or, the grammar schoole (1612), John Brinsley's manual for rustic schoolmasters, imagines a scene of translation. Though Philoponus ('lover of hard work') aims for a literal translation of Cicero's elegant Latin, he admits that there are points at which his insistence upon preserving the author's words obscures the sense. The space of the printed page, however, allows him to resolve this difficulty. Where the meaning of his translation suffers, he explains, 'there I haue also expressed that by a more plaine phrase, sometimes included within two markes, almost like a Parenthesis ... Or else I haue set it euer in the Margent'.²⁴ Brinsley's imagined edition uses the multiplying potential of the paratext to showcase simultaneously the two dominant modes of translation: the body of the text is concerned to convey Cicero's words, whilst the margins open up room for interpretation and paraphrase.

Philoponus recommends a similar way of working to students, who are, he says, 'On the first side toward the right hand, in which the English is to be set, to leaue a lesse margent: on the other side for the Latine a greater margent; ... and also to write all the hard words in the margent of the Latine' (sig. 3^r). These instructions reveal the centrality of the margins to the apprentice work of translation as it was undertaken in the classroom or under the watchful eye of the private tutor. Explaining how to make use of lectures, Philoponus later recommends two texts, Cicero's *Offices* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, explaining 'I haue set in the Margents of the Translations, the sum of all the matter; which is very notable and full of delight' (sig. VI^v).²⁵ Nicholas Grimald's influential translation of *Cicero's Three Books of Duties* (1556) serves as an earlier example of Brinsley's ideal: it is copiously annotated with printed directions which help the reader to navigate the book. Grimald assures his readers of the importance of his text: 'Maruailous is the mater, flowing the eloquence, ryche the store of stuff, & full artificiall the enditing' (sig. Cc5^v). Apologising for his inadequacies as a translator, he points his readers to 'the greatnesse of ye mater, which is profounde philosophie' (sig. CC6^r). A manuscript note in the margin of one copy, now at the Huntington Library, echoes the word 'Profound', suggesting a reader who both responded to and imitated Grimald's marginal practice (Fig. 2.2).²⁶

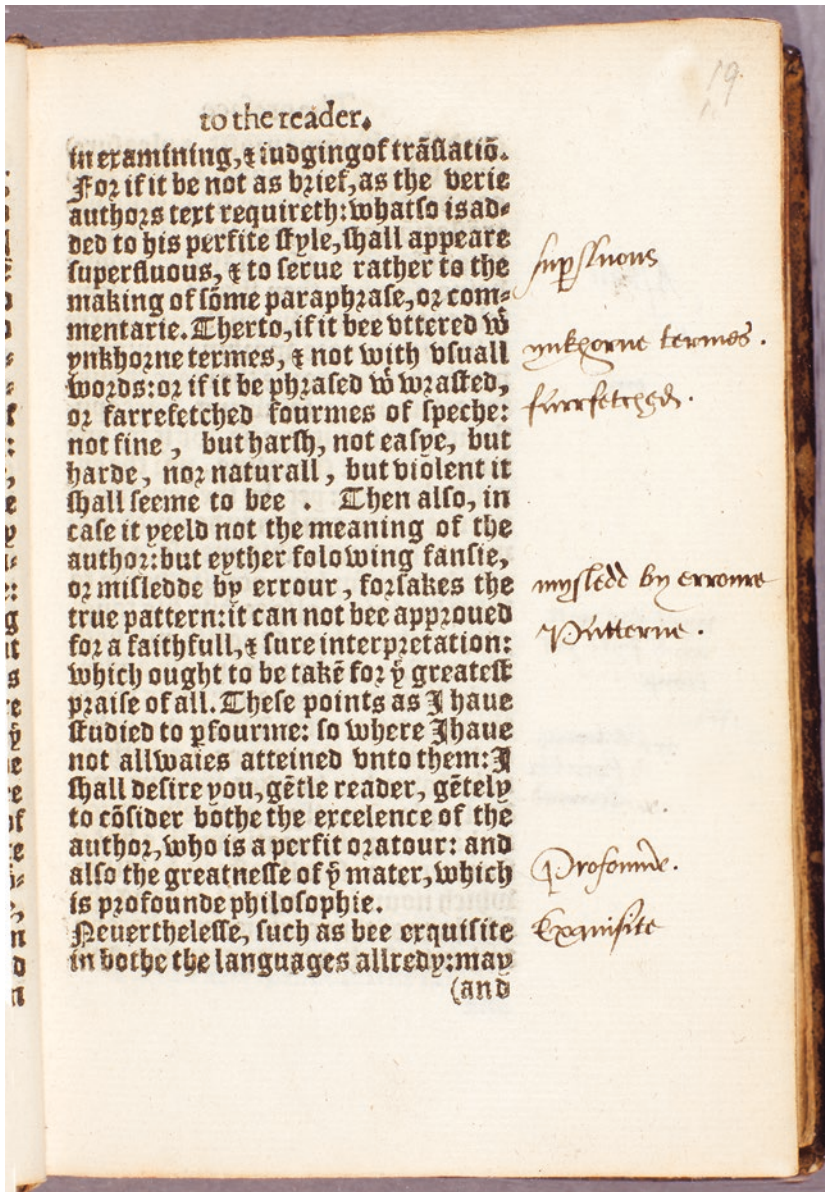


Fig. 2.2 Marcus Tullius Ciceroes thre bokes of duties, ... turned oute of latine into english, by Nicholas Grimalde (London: Richard Tottel, 1556), sig. Cc5^v. Rare Books 60720, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California

Published in 1611, *Certaine epistles of Tyllly verbally translated*, selected by Johannes Sturm and translated by William Haine, proposed a similar use for the margins. Translating Latin texts into English, the teacher is to give words ‘their proper and naturall significations, so farre forth as sense, and the proprietie of the English phrase will in any wise permit: If otherwise, by reason of some trope, vnusuall phrase, or hard sentence, let him set *v*. in the margent, or in a different letter in the Text, to shew, that *adverbium*, it is otherwise: *i* for *id est*, to explaine the sence, and so forth’.²⁷ This last abbreviation, as well as the notion of the ‘hard sentence’ (the sense or substance of the text, rather than its syntax), returns us to the question of matter: an italic ‘i’ alerts students to points at which the margin unfolds the text’s meaning, wherever the translation is obscure.

Brinsley used a very similar model in his own translation of Cicero’s *Offices*, instructing his reader: ‘Vnderstand, first, the matter contained in each Chapter, by reading ouer and obseruing wel the inmost columnne. Then, try so farre as need is, for the true construing and resoluing therof out of the Author it selfe, both for Grammar and phrase; and also to read it into a good english stile, by the helpe of the second columnne and the margents.’²⁸ As in Haine, symbols help the reader navigate between the text and its densely-packed paratexts: ‘The letter *q*, prefixt to words, directs to the Grammar order, ... the Starre*, to variety of phrase, the better to expresse the matter’ (sig. [A6^v]). Yet Cicero’s lively matter refuses to be confined to its allocated column: the opening page of chapter 47 presents the matter of the central text in the left-hand margin as promised, but also offers, on the right, an alternative translation of the phrase ‘not from the purpose’, rendered instead as ‘strange or besides the matter’ (sig. R6^r; Fig. 2.3). Set literally ‘besides the matter’ of the text, this marginal note asks us to think about the spatial dynamics of the paratext and the hierarchies of the page. John King offers a helpful taxonomy of marginal glosses, distinguishing between those which direct a reader inward towards the text (e.g. manicules or pointing hands, ‘mark well’ or *nota*) and those which point the reader outwards (references to biblical and other authorities). Brinsley, however, creates a page on which the margins substitute for or supplement the text.²⁹ As Neil Rhodes points out, ‘One characteristic of paratexts is that they are situated on a horizontal plane; this is implied in the metaphor of the threshold.’³⁰ In relation to facing-page translations, Rhodes notes that ‘the physical construction of the printed book creates an impression of adjacency’, but that this impression is misleading: the textual hierarchies remain vertical. The effect of Brinsley’s compressed

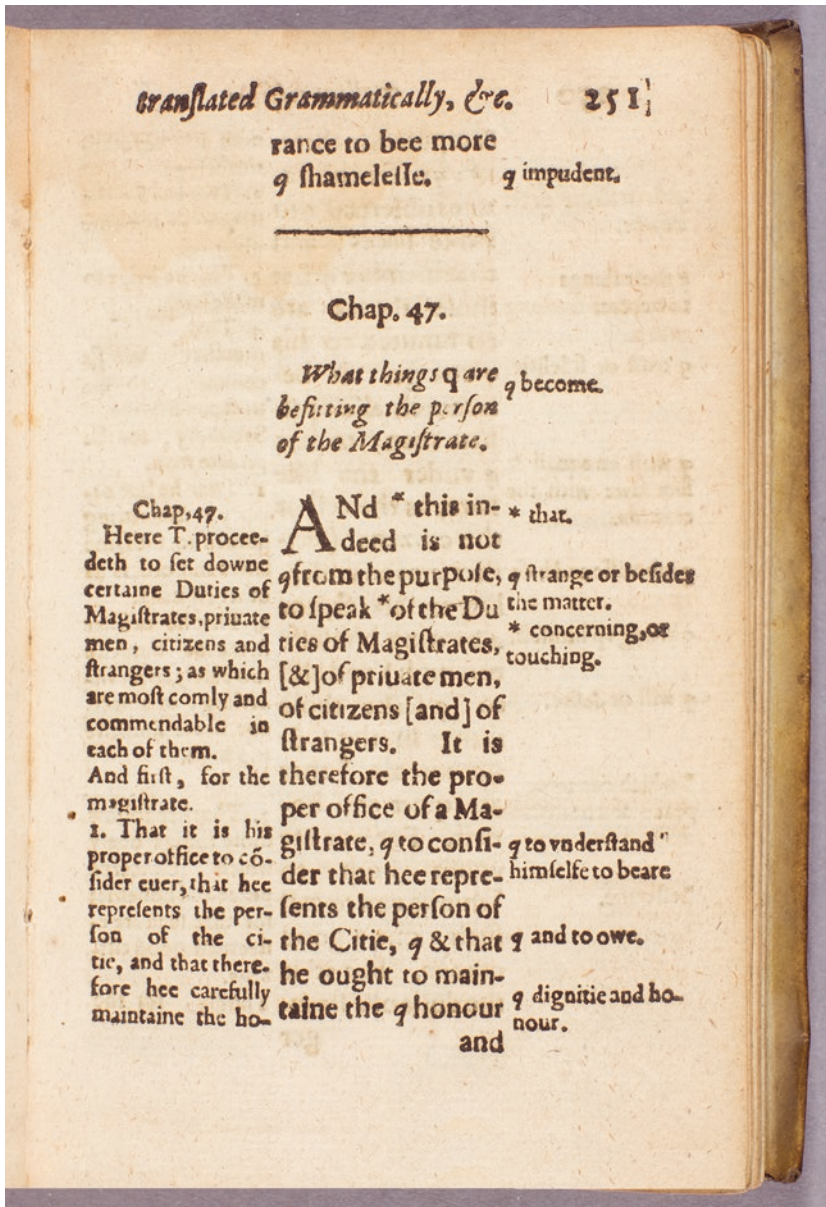


Fig. 2.3 *The first book of Tullies Offices translated grammatically* [tr. John Brinsley] (London, 1616), sig. R6r. Rare Books 15853, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California

columns, in contrast, is to flatten out the hierarchies of the page, creating what we might term a set of paratranslations.

According to Haine's translation of Cicero, 'the understanding and knowing of the matter [is] the beginning and fountaine of writing elegantly, speaking readily, and to the point' (B6^r). Students turned to the work of translation to get to grips with matter they would repurpose at a later date. Haine promises his reader that students taught according to his prescribed method:

shall never afterward neede, for the words and phrases Lexicon or Dictionary. or for the matter, instructor, or teacher: because all things thus learned, iterated, exercised, yea imprinted and engraven in them, will sticke so fast in their memory, that they will bee able, as out of a rich store-house (fully fraught with wares of great worth and price) perpetually to bring forth their owne stuffe, old and new, choyce and good. (sigs. B7^v–B8^r)

In Haine's imagined classroom, the mind of the student becomes a form of filing system, or, more accurately, a commonplace book. This is a technique rooted in the humanist educational model that asked readers to collect wise and witty sayings on a variety of topics for future recombination and use.³¹ His model of memory is distinctly physical: iterated and exercised, the students' learning will be 'imprinted and engraven' in their memory, becoming, in the process, 'their owne stuffe', ready to be redeployed. The memory is conceived of as a 'store-house' (a term that occurs frequently in rhetorical guides), but one that operates within a distinctly commercial milieu: it is 'fraught' (laden like a ship) with rare and valuable goods.³²

Brinsley's Philoponus, in turn, explains how to make sure that young scholars 'haue choise of matter gathered to their hands' (sig. Aa1^{v-r}), a turn of phrase which emphasises the physicality of the commonplace that the writer must 'be furnished with' or possess 'a store of' matter. His instructions are precise: 'For furnishing with matter and substance, besides Resners *Symbola* mentioned, Erasmus Adages of the largest and last Edition, is a rich store-house. Also Lyscosthenes his Apothegmata, printed at London by G. Bishoppe, M.D.XCVI. is of good vse' (sig. Aa3^v).³³ A printed marginal note, 'Authors for matter', makes the 'matter' of this passage doubly clear. To 'furnish' might denote 'material provisions' but also 'intellectual' provisions such as ideas or information', whilst 'furniture', translating the Latin (and, by extension, the English) 'supellex' ('house-

hold furniture, equipment, paraphernalia'), referred as much to the materials which stocked the mind as to the movable objects which filled a house. Thus Henry Billingsley offered readers of his edition of Euclid 'Great increase & furniture of knowledge'.³⁴ As Jeffrey Todd Knight points out, in the early modern period, the notion of furniture 'occupies an ambivalent position relative to many of the categorical oppositions that have become conventional in modern thought: content and form, intellectual and material utility, mental and physical space', a list to which we might easily add 'words and matter'.³⁵ In a compact turn of phrase, Montaigne conflates intellectual and household space as he mocks 'These rapsodies of common places, wherewith so many stuffe their studie', referring at once to the room in which reading and writing took place and to the operations of thought.³⁶

Where Philoponus seems to conflate the increasing size of Erasmus's *Adages* with its capaciousness of matter (students should seek out the 'largest' edition), he later turns to the *multum in parvo* (much in little) trope to emphasise the slightness but also the concision of poetry, through which advanced students can learn 'to comprehend a great deale of choise matter in a very little roome' (Bb4^r). Brinsley's phrasing reminds us of the corporeality of 'comprehension', from the Latin *comprehendere*: 'to grasp, seize, comprise'.³⁷ Matter becomes haptic and handleable in a productive confusion between physical and literary or rhetorical substance. This conceptual twinning was widespread: in a stimulating reading of Tasso, Elizabeth Spiller argues that for Renaissance writers 'the form that works of art can take are allied to the forms in and through which [physical] matter is realized'.³⁸

As we have already seen, the Hebrew 'davar' meant both word and thing, while the Greek 'hyle' and Latin 'res' each encompassed subject as well as worldly matter. In 1587, Thomas Thomas defined the Latin 'Mātēria' as 'Matter or stuffe whereof any thing is made: timber, wodde, the body of the tree vnder the barke, wood felled for necessarie vses: also the argument of a booke, oration, or poesie'.³⁹ In his *New world of words* (1611), John Florio offered a similarly capacious definition of the Italian 'Materia' as 'matter, stuffe or substance whereof any thing is or may be made. Also any subiect, ground or argument. Also cause or occasion of any thing'; whilst, in the same year, Randle Cotgrave defined the French 'Matiere' as 'Matter; stuffe, substance; a matter, a thing; an argument, or subiect to write, or discourse of; a businesse, or affaire; a cause, case, or Action in Law'.⁴⁰

Renaissance understandings of ‘matter’ thus extend Knight’s objection to ‘approaches that have perhaps been overly rigid in separating out utility and instrumentality from aesthetics and affectivity, and that have furthermore parsed *intellectual* from *material* utility’ (40). Where Knight argues that books were useful objects as much as intellectual tools, the physicality of subject matter points us instead towards a material understanding of cognitive processes, in which mental and physical handling are closely intertwined. As we have seen, this physicality led to the conception of textual matter as graspable: sometimes malleable, sometimes resistant.

Philoponus goes on to emphasise the importance of pronouncing ‘euery matter according to the nature of it’ (sig. Ee2v), suggesting the extent to which subject matter was understood to possess its own particular qualities, operating like a natural substance. George Chapman pursued a similar idea. In a versified critique of word-for-word translation which forms part of the extensive paratexts to his translation of *The Iliads of Homer* (1611), Chapman attacks those who ‘may as well / Make fish with fowl, camels with whales engender’ in attempting to marry English and Greek.

... since as they in sounds,
And letters, shunne one forme, and vnison,
So haue their sense, and elegancie bounds
In their distinguisht natures.⁴¹

Languages, in this formulation, are a kind of matter, possessed of their own ‘distinguisht natures’.

Chapman goes on to explain:

it is the part of every knowing and iudiciall interpreter not to follow the number and order of words, but the materiall things themselues, and sentences to weigh diligently; and to clothe and adorn them with words, and such a stile and forme of Oration, as are most apt for the language into which they are conuerted. (A4^r)

His ‘materiall things’ are things which are ‘Full of sense, meaning, or pertinent information’: subject matter.⁴² The *Oxford English Dictionary* illustrates this definition with a line from Chapman’s translation, which describes Priam’s words to Achilles: ‘His speech euen charm’d his eares: So orderd; so materiall’, a compact twinning of good matter and careful

words.⁴³ Literary matter, for Chapman, is permeated with the heft of physical substance: the matter of the text is to be ‘weigh[ed] diligently’. The idea of ‘weighing’ language dates back to Cicero, who defended his translations by insisting ‘I did not think I ought to count them out to the reader like coins, but to pay them by weight, as it were’.⁴⁴ Cicero contrasts ‘verba annumerare’ (counted words) to ‘verba appendere’. ‘Appendere’ means ‘to weigh gold’; Cicero equates the heft of his authors with a notoriously massy substance and self-consistent substance, properties which are shared by his texts.

TRANSLATING MATTER

The duality of matter as the substance of both writing and the world is made explicit in the margins of a page from Brinsley’s translation of *Virgil’s Eclogues* (1620). Like the title-pages to his earlier translations of Corderius, Ovid, and Cicero, the *Eclogues*’ front matter links the book to Brinsley’s pedagogic publications: it is ‘Written chiefly for the good of schooles, to be vsed according to the directions in the preface to the painfull schoole maister, and more fully in the booke called Ludus literarius, or the grammar-schoole’. As with Brinsley’s Cicero, the layout of the text is striking: the marginal notes are divided into three columns, one to the left and two to the right of the text proper, which is squeezed into a similarly narrow column and copiously marked with numbers and symbols keyed to the marginal content. In a copy held at the British Library, a reader has attempted to make sense of this system, titling the left-hand column ‘Analysis’, the text ‘Grammaticall Order’, the next column ‘variety of phrase’, and the final margin ‘Proper names expounded | Deriuation of words | Tropes’.⁴⁵

In Virgil’s sixth *Eclogue*, the drunken satyr, Silenus, sings of the creation of the world. The rightmost margin on Brinsley’s page points the reader to ‘the argument or subject matter of *Silenius* songs’, which tell ‘how the seeds of the earth and of the aire, and also of the water, and likewise of the liquid fire, were first gathered together thorough the great vast space’ (Fig. 2.4).⁴⁶ Silenius’s subject matter, in other words, is the creation of matter. In his 1628 translation of the *Eclogues*, rather than using the margins, as Brinsley does, to further the work of interpretation, William Lathum followed each book with a gloss ‘borrow’d from divers learned Authors’, paratexts which he characterised in a metaphor-laden address ‘To the worthy reader’ not only as ‘a guide to direct [readers] in an

THE FIRST ECLOGVE,

which is called

(¹) TITYRVS.

[The speakers are]

(2) *Melibeus and Tityrus.*

Analysis.

a In this Eclogue (as was shewed in the Argument) *Melibeus* laments his owne calamitie, and the estate of the rest of the townsmen of *Mantua*, by comparing their misery with the fortunate estate of *Tityrus*, which he admireth with a secret indignation: That he might lie at his ease vnder the shade, and play his country ditties vpon his pipe.

b When they contrarily were enforced to leaue their countrey and pleasant fields:

And glad to flie their native soyle, yet he lying at his ease vnder the coole shade, might sing his songs in praise of his loue faire *Amaryll*, to cause the very woods with their echo to resound the same.

Melibeus.

a *Tityrus*, thou
* lying all
along vnder the
(3) couert of
* the (4) broad
(5) beech tree,
Doeft * a deuise
" a wood-land
(6) song * vpon a
slender (7) oaten
pipe.

b We " leaue
the * bounds of
our countrey and
[our] " sweet
(8) fields:

We " flie " our
countrey: [but]
* thou (*Tityrus*)
lying securely in
the * shade,

B 2 " Teach-

Grammaticall Order. * *varietate* *parvitas*
Lying downe [viz. lying at thy ease or resting quietly.]
* Cover [viz. shade or shadow.]
* The beech tree spreading largely, [viz. with great armes or branches.]
* Meditate.
" Tune.
" A song fit to be sung in the woods [or a rurall or country song, or a heardmans or shepherds dittie.]
* With a small oate.
" For sake, or are driven to leane or forgo.
* Ends; or coasts.
" Pleasant grounds or lands.
" Flie from, or are driven out and banished from
" Our native soyle.
* *Tityrus*, thou beinge [viz. secure or lying at thy rest, or idle and carelesse.]
* Shadow.

Trif namus expound
Derivation of words
Tropes

¹ *Tityrus* a fained name of a shepheard, most expert in countrey musicke (as was said,) here signifieth *Virgil* the famous Poet restored to his possessions by the commandement of *Augustus*.

² *Melibeus* a heardman so called *enim vel amos* *et* *bos*, because he had care of cattell, representing a townsman of *Mantua*, cast out of his possessions by the Roman souldiers, to whose lands were given.

³ *Tegmen* g. *tegimen* a tegendo. Synecd. gen.

⁴ *Patule* a patendo.

⁵ *Fagi* Syn. spec.

⁶ *Musam* *Meionymia* efficientia.

⁷ *Anena* *Metalepsis*, an oate for a pipe made of oaten straw, *Met. materie* *Met. adumbrati*, and taken for any pipe, Syn. spec.

⁸ *Arum ab arando*, such a field properly as is ready to be sowne, now plowed or tilled, Syn. spec.

Fig. 2.4 *Virgils Eclogues, vvith his booke De apibus, concerning the gouernment and ordering of bees, translated grammatically ...* [tr. John Brinsley] (London: Richard Field, 1620), sig. I3^r. British Library General Reference Collection 237.I.18. © The British Library Board

unknown vway', but also as 'Imroydery' [sic] to the 'Garment' of his text (sig. ¶8r). Lathum prefaced 'his' gloss to the first Eclogue with a translation of 'The Preface of LODOVICVS VIVES to his Glosse vpon VIRGILS Aeglogues', in which the humanist Vives (also known as Juan Luis Vives), tutor to the Princess Mary, defended his choice of this 'lighter' work, insisting 'did these *Aeglogues* containe in them no farther hidden matter, than the very bare barke of the words makes shew of, I cannot thinke that the Author had needed to haue taken three yeares time to haue brought them to perfection' (sig. A5^v).

Vives's invocation of the 'bare barke' of Virgil's words returns us to Thomas Thomas's definition of 'Mātēria' as 'the body of the tree vnder the barke', and to the complex of words which tied together matter, wood, trees, and poems.⁴⁷ Rather than abandoning serious subjects, Vives suggests, 'Virgil, vnder these sporting passages of pastorall verse, did finely and neatly as it were, inlay, and couch many things'.⁴⁸ Vives's gloss on the Silenus episode, translated by Lathum, discusses this passage in terms that anticipate, and plausibly inform, Brinsley's notes: he observes that 'Hee taught and opened the causes, and first principles and originall of things (a matter most pleasing and delightfull,) out of the most abstruse and hidden points of Philosophy; heere needs no Allegory. Onely it teacheth that such kinde of subject, (containing learning and knowledge, and wise Philosophy,) ought truly and of right to be the matter of a right Poets pen' (sig. G6^{r-v}).

This passage in Virgil is one that the fifth-century commentator Macrobius cited in his *Saturnalia*, as he sought to demonstrate Virgil's numerous debts to Lucretius. In a brilliant account of the transmission of Lucretius's 'lost' masterpiece throughout the centuries prior to its Renaissance recovery by Bracciolini, Gerard Passanante notes that 'In total, about forty passages of *De rerum natura* were transported through the seas of late antiquity and the Middle Ages via the great leaky ship of the *Saturnalia*'.⁴⁹ Macrobius set out to demonstrate Virgil's borrowings from other ancient authors, in the service of claiming Virgil as the great synthesiser, a poet who could 'render discordant elements into the body of a coherent whole'.⁵⁰ Though Passanante suggests that Macrobius's comparison of Virgil's words to Book 5.432–9 of Lucretius's *De rerum natura* is done on the basis of the poets' style, he argues that 'because the passages themselves deal so explicitly with the matter of cosmogony ... it becomes difficult to quarantine the philosophical questions that underlie the matter of imitation'.⁵¹

Whilst neither Lathum nor Brinsley specifically connects this passage to Lucretius, whose *De rerum natura* was not, at this stage, available in English translation, both emphasised its philosophical import, reading the passage within the context of a lively and persistent Epicurean tradition that was little affected by the circulation of Lucretius's poem during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁵² In his gloss to book six, Lathum (or rather Vives) explains 'in this Eglogue *Virgil* doth purposely treat of the Epicurean sect, and doctrine, which both himselfe and *Varus* had learned of *Syron*'.⁵³ In Brinsley's translation, the relationship of the Epicurean philosophers to Virgil is distinctly uneasy: the epicures, we are told, 'thought' the 'seeds of the earth' 'to be made of motes and such little bodies concurring', a view which is directly endorsed neither by the annotation nor by the poem. Lucretius's presence goes unrecorded and, presumably, unnoticed, whilst the matter theory of the epicures is presented in decidedly provisional terms. These interpretations nonetheless derive from parallel traditions that preserved the material (intellectual) as well as stylistic links between Virgil and Lucretius, and that presented Virgil himself as a philosopher as well as a poet.

In 1553, in a lengthy verse preface to his translation of *The .xiii. bukes of Eneados of the famos poet Virgill translatet out of Latyne verses into Scottisb metir*, Gavin Douglas pointed to the inadequacies of Caxton's earlier translation, arguing 'quha that ilk sext buk knewe / Virgil tharin, ane hie Phylosophoure him schew', whilst in 1582, Richard Stanyhurst commended Virgil for 'his peerless style and matchless stuff' (his words and matter), and for his 'labour in telling, as it were, a Canterbury Tale to ferret out the secrets of nature'.⁵⁴ Richard Mulcaster directly paralleled Virgil's understanding of subject and physical matter, terming him 'that cunning poet for iudgement in matter, and great philosopher for secrecie in nature'.⁵⁵ And among some energetically banal marginal notes ('Aeolia a windy countree', 'Commotion of women', 'Drowninge is miserable'), Thomas Phaer, who translated the first seven books of the *Aeneid* in 1558, drew readers' attention to Yopas's song at the end of the first book.⁵⁶ Next to three lines marked out as noteworthy by a curling printed bracket, which he translates, 'The wandryng mone, and of the sonne the daily toyl he told. / How mankind was begon & beasts, wherhens the fier & shoures / Procedes, & how the stares arisen & fallen in certain houres', Phaer inserts a note, identifying Yopas's lines as 'Songes of Astronomy for princes' (sig. C2').

Read within this tradition of mingled poetic and philosophical thinking, Brinsley and Latham's paratexts point us to the complex networks of transmission and translation that brought ancient matter theory to early modern England: Virgil's imitation of Lucretius becomes a means for the marginal dissemination of Epicurean philosophy, in partial and tentative forms. They illustrate in miniature how 'the material form in which [Virgil's] poetry was disseminated became ... an integral part of the succession of meanings which serves as the reception history of the poems', a lesson which we can expand to take in the inventive uses of paratexts and *mise-en-page* that allowed translators both to expand and explain their meaning, and to convey the complexities of their task, as of the original text, to sufficiently equipped readers.⁵⁷ Rather than choosing between literal and free translation, early modern translators used the interpretive possibilities of the page to translate both words and matter in the same space, though not simultaneously, and to comment on and debate the relationship between the two. Their material-intellectual practices spoke to broadly shared understandings of the substance of the text, helping readers to get their hands on an author's palpable, workable, energetic matter.

NOTES

1. Michel de Montaigne, *The essayes or morall, politike and millitarie discourses of Lo: Michael de Montaigne ... done into English by J. Florio* (London: V. Simmes for E. Blount, 1603), sig. Y6^v. The original reads: 'Il faict bon traduire les auteurs, comme celuy-là, où il n'y a guere que la matiere à représenter: mais ceux qui ont donné beaucoup à la grace, & à l'élégance du langage, ils sont dangereux à entreprendre, nommément pour les rapporter à vn idiome plus foible', *Les essais* (Paris: Langelier, 1595), sig. Aa3^r.
2. William W. E. Slights, *Managing Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001), p. 19. On printed marginalia, see also Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), chapter 3.
3. Slights, *Managing Readers*, p. 26.
4. Neil Rhodes, *English Renaissance Translation Theory*, MHRA Tudor & Stuart Translations, Volume 9 (London: MHRA, 2013), p. 1.
5. Cicero, *De optimo genere oratorum*, trans. H. M. Hubbell, Loeb Classical Library 386 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942), p. 365.

6. Thomas Wilson, *The arte of rhetorique* ([London]: Richard Grafton, 1553), sig. P4^r. These ideas are reproduced in strikingly similar terms in the address to the reader which prefaces the first monolingual English dictionary, Robert Cawdry's *A table alphabeticall ... of hard vsuall English words...* (London: I. R[oberts] for Edmund Weaver, 1604), sig. A4^r.
7. Richard Sherry, *A treatise of the figures of grammar and rhetorike* (London: Richard Tottel, 1555), sig. A3^v.
8. *The booke of freendeship of Marcus Tullie Cicero*, trans. John Harington (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1550), sig. A2^v.
9. On the French basis of English literature, and the role of translation in the development of the English vernacular, see Anne Coldiron, *Printers Without Borders: Translation and Textuality in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
10. For a survey of the changing uses of this trope, see Massimiliano Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 36–42.
11. See Rhodes, *English Renaissance Translation Theory*, pp. 16–17; Peter Burke, 'Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe', in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 28–30.
12. William Fulke, *A defense of the sincere and true translations of the holie Scriptures into the English tong* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1583), sig. C9^v.
13. Henry King, 'To my much honoured Friend Mr. George Sandys', in George Sandys, *A paraphrase upon the divine poems* (London: [John Legatt], 1638), sig. G5^v.
14. James Kearney, *The Incarnate Text: Imagining the Book in Reformation England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 15.
15. Henry Ainsworth, *A defence of the Holy Scriptures, worship, and ministerie, used in the Christian Churches separated from Antichrist* (Amsterdam: Giles Thorp, 1609), sig. II^r.
16. Matthew Day, '"Intended to Offenders": The Running Titles of Early Modern Books', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, edited by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 34–47 (p. 35).
17. John White, *A defence of the way to the true Church* (London: Richard Field, 1614), sig. S2^r.
18. See Brian Cummings, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
19. Joseph Caryl, *An exposition with practicall observations continued upon the eighth, ninth and tenth chapters of the book of Job* (London: G. Miller, 1647), sig. Kk3^v.
20. Coldiron, *Printers without Borders*, p. 26.

21. I am grateful to Michele Campopiano for his comments on the Hebrew.
22. Thomas Pierce, *An impartial inquiry into the nature of sin* (London: R[oger] N[orton], 1660), sigs. T4^v–V1^r.
23. On accommodation and application, see Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences 1590–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), especially pp. 27 and 316; and Mary Morrissey, ‘Ornament and Repetition: Biblical Interpretation in Early Modern English Preaching’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c.1530–1700*, edited by Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 303–16. This inversion of margin and text was not confined to scripture. Peter Heylyn, for example, quibbled with the long-dead Thomas Becon, comparing him to Chrysippus, of whom, he claims, it was said that if everything was removed from his writings that was not his own ‘his Papers would be emptie of all manner of matter’ (*Antidotum Lincolnense or An answer to a book entituled, The holy table* (London: [Miles Flesher and R. Bishop] for John Clark, 1637), sig. Aa1^v). Heylyn itemises his author’s mistakes, crowing with delight when he finds a report of ‘Archimedes, who washing in a *brazen Lavatorie*, cryes out he *had found it*. What had he now found? *ἡ τῆς ἀρχιμήδους τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιμήδους μέτρα*’, saith your *margin* rightly: but very wrongly you translate it, and tell us it was nothing but the *Coronet or circumference of the vessell*’ (sig. Aaa3^r).
24. John Brinsley, *Ludus literarius: or, the grammar schoole* (London: [Humphrey Lownes] for Thomas Man, 1612), P3^r. Brinsley’s text was re-edited in 1627 and published again in four variant issues in that same year. On Brinsley’s educational ideals, see John Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes Towards Reason, Learning and Education, 1560–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), esp. pp. 173–6 and 192–202.
25. Brinsley translated and published *The first book of Tullies Offices translated grammatically* in 1616 and *Ouids Metamorphosis translated gramatically* in 1618, both printed by Humphrey Lownes for Thomas Man.
26. *Marcus Tullius Ciceroes thre bokes of duties, to Marcus his sonne, turned oute of latine into english, by Nicholas Grimalde* (London: Richard Tottel, 1556), sig. Cc5^v.
27. *Certaine epistles of Tully verbally translated* [by William Haine] (London: [N. Okes] for the Company of Stationers, 1611), sig. B5^v.
28. *The first book of Tullies Offices translated grammatically*, sig. [A4^v].
29. John N. King, *Foxe’s ‘Book of Martyrs’ and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 64–5. King also notes that margins were sometimes used for the clarification of terms (itself a kind of translation).

30. Neil Rhodes, 'Status Anxiety and English Renaissance Translation', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, edited by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 107–20.
31. On commonplacing, see especially Peter Beal, 'Notions in Garrison: The Seventeenth-Century Commonplace Book', in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985–1991*, edited by W. Speed Hill (Binghamton, NY: Renaissance English Text Society, 1993), pp. 131–48; Mary Thomas Crane, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); and Fred Schurink, 'Manuscript Commonplace Books, Literature, and Reading in Early Modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73.3 (2010), 453–69.
32. *OED*, 'fraught', *adj.*, def. 2.a.
33. The reference to Resner is probably to Nikolaus von Reusner, *Symbolorum imperatoriorum*, first published in Frankfurt by Johann SpeiB in 1588. The *Private Libraries of Renaissance England* database suggests this book was owned by Walter Brown, an Oxford cleric and scholar, and by an anonymous Oxford scholar, whose books were inventoried in c.1650 (online: <http://plre.folger.edu>, nos 159.421 and 164.50). The edition of Lycosthenes, printed by George Bishop, is not listed in *STC*, and seems not to have survived.
34. *The elements of geometrie of the most auncient philosopher Euclide of Megara. Faithfully (now first) translated into the Englishe toung, by H. Billingsley* (London: John Daye, 1570), sig. R2^r.
35. Jeffrey Todd Knight, "'Furnished" for Action: Renaissance Books as Furniture', *Book History*, 12 (2009), 37–73 (pp. 53, 55).
36. Montaigne, *The Essayes*, sig. Ggg5^r, a translation of 'Ces pastissages de lieux communs, dequoy tant de gents mesnagent leur estude' (*Essais*, sig. Qqq4^r). Florio's 'rapsodies' has its own physicality; as Piers Brown has recently shown, a poetical 'rhapsody' was understood as fragments figuratively—or sometimes literally—stitched together ('Donne, Rhapsody, and Textual Order', in *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England*, edited by Joshua Eckhardt and Daniel Starza Smith (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 237–55.
37. *OED*, 'comprehension', *n*.
38. Elizabeth Spiller, *Reading and the History of Race in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 83.
39. Thomas Thomas, *Dictionarium linguae Latinae et Anglicanae* (Cambridge: Thomas Thomas, 1587), sig. Mm6^v. Thomas's imprint is in Latin ('Ex officinal Thomae Thomasii, inclytae academiae typographi ...'), as is usual

- in works written and printed in Latin, but it translates Thomas, his London bookseller Richard Boyle and St Paul's Churchyard into the learned language of the dictionary.
40. John Florio, *Queen Anna's new world of words ... augmented* (London: Melch. Bradwood [and William Stansby], 1611), sigs. Cc2^{r-v}; Randle Cotgrave, *A dictionary of the French and English tongues* (London: Adam Islip, 1611), sig. Fff2^v. Florio also offers a definition of Matière: 'material, substantiall, made of or consisting of any matter. Also vsed for a dull or shallow witted and grosse fellow, wanting forme'.
 41. *The Iliads of Homer prince of poets ... donne according to the Greeke by Geo: Chapman* (London: [Richard Field] for Nathaniel Butter [1611?]), sig. A1^r.
 42. *OED*, 'material', def. A, *adj.*, 7.
 43. Homer, *Iliads*, sig. G1^v.
 44. Cicero, *De optimo genere oratorum*, p. 365.
 45. British Library Shelfmark 237.l.18., B2^r.
 46. *Virgils Eclogues, vvith his booke De apibus, concerning the gouernment and ordering of bees, translated grammatically, and also according to the proprietic of our English tongue, so farre as grammar and the verse will well permit* [by John Brinsley] (London: Richard Field, 1620), sig. I3^r.
 47. On this complex, see also Diane Kelsey McColley, *Poetry and Ecology in the Age of Milton and Marvell* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), esp. chapter 4.
 48. *Virgils Eclogues translated into English: by W. L., Gent* (London: Richard Jones, 1628), sig. A5^v.
 49. Gerard Passanante, *The Lucretian Renaissance: Philology and the Afterlife of Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 36.
 50. Passanante, *The Lucretian Renaissance*, p. 37. On the relationship between Virgil and Lucretius, see Monica R. Gale, *Virgil on the Nature of Things: The Georgics, Lucretius and the Didactic Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
 51. Passanante, *The Lucretian Renaissance*, p. 47.
 52. As John Monfasani points out in a review of *The Swerve*, Greenblatt significantly overstates the contemporary importance of Bracciolini's discovery (John Monfasani, review of *The Swerve: How the Renaissance Began*, online: <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/1283>). The ideas of Epicurus and his followers circulated during the fifteenth century in Cicero's *De finibus* and *De natura deorum*, Lactantius's *Divine institutes*, and Diogenes Laertius's *Lives of the philosophers*, translated by the Camaldulensian monk, Ambrogio Traversari.
 53. *Virgils Eclogues*, sigs. G3^v–G4^v.
 54. *The .xiii. bukes of Eneados ... Translatet out of Latyne verses into Scottish metir bi the Reuerend Father in God, Mayster Gawin Douglas* (London: William Copland, 1553), sig. B3^v; *Thee first foure bookes of Virgil his Aeneis*

translated intoo English heroical verse by Richard Stanyhurst (Leiden: John Pates, 1582), sigs. A2^{r-v}; quoted in Rhodes, *English Renaissance Translation Theory*, p. 338, n. 8.

55. Richard Mulcaster, *Positions ... for the training vp of children* (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1581), sig. Y1^r.
56. *The seuen first books of the Eneidos of Virgill, conuerted in Englishe meter by Thomas Phaer Esquier* (London: John Kyngston, 1558), sigs. A1^v, I4^r, A2^r.
57. Craig Kallendorf, *The Protean Virgil: Material Form and the Reception of the Classics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 9.



The Translator's Visibility in Early Printed Portrait-Images and the Ambiguous Example of Margaret More Roper

A. E. B. Coldiron

Lawrence Venuti established clearly how persistent—and how damaging—the invisibility of translators has been in eighteenth- through twenty-first-century texts.¹ He notes the high valuation of fluency and of the illusion of transparency in translations themselves; in paratexts, a work's status as translation may be omitted or elided, or the name of the translator diminished or even erased. And in modern times, Venuti explains, 'the translator's invisibility is ... a weird self-annihilation'.² The implications of erasure and invisibility for translators, authors, and readers alike have been significant and sobering, with 'exclusionary effects on the canon of foreign literatures in English' with an 'ethnocentric violence', cultural and social devaluation of the foreign, and economic injustices as well.³ Venuti is absolutely right that the conventions that value a seamless, fluent, domesticating translation and an invisible, faceless translator have blocked fair attribution and fair compensation for translators. I believe those conventions have also impoverished literary canons, have exacerbated the

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nationalised silo-effect in curricula and university institutional structures, and have distorted literary histories. So nothing I write here should be taken as denying Venuti's conclusions or the general problem of the translator's invisibility.

But if we apply Venuti's critique of invisibility to earlier times than those for which he designed it, we find a phase of literary history in the West when translators were anything but invisible. For these earlier periods, and perhaps most notably in the early print period in England that is my focus here, many paratexts award translators a striking visibility, sometimes including their names, their stations, their other works, or their relations to the particular work's topic. And while a domesticating illusion of transparency (fluency) was already part of English translation practice by the fifteenth century, sometimes certain marks of alterity such as lexical doubling, template translation, residual foreign names, place names, spellings, or allusions gave translations an apparently desirable exoticism. I have argued elsewhere that the translator's *visibility*—a kind of inverse corollary to Venuti's concept—operates powerfully in medieval and early modern European literature, and possibly elsewhere. The translator's visibility functions in several ways in medieval manuscripts, and then in different ways still in printed books, especially in paratext; furthermore, visibility can become an interpretive tool and index.⁴

Here, I examine the striking visibility granted to early modern translators in engraved or woodcut images of them found in early printed books. Some woodcuts or engravings give translators a face, specific attributes and accompanying objects, or even a full embodiment. These images range from simple, fairly generic woodcut images, all the way to the highly individuated portrait engravings of the later-Elizabethan and Stuart periods. In a recent essay entitled 'Moveable Types', Taylor Clement has explained and theorised similar images in physiognomy books as de-individuated or 'type' portrayals; in another vein, Martha Driver describes 'everywoman' portrayals in early English books.⁵ Clement explains, 'contrasted with the individuated traits of English Renaissance portrait miniatures, the faces in [early] printed portrait books have neither defined identity nor fashioned personality'.⁶ Later, after about 1540, the technology in England improves such that fine details and cross-hatching permit real individuation of facial features; these later images of translators, unlike the early woodcut 'types', can truly be termed printed portraits.⁷

Such detailed, paratextual visibility of the translators has important implications for literary history in general, and specifically for theories of

imitation and concepts of authorship.⁸ Images of translators often occupy what we now think of as 'authorial' spaces—the title-page, the title verso, or the frontispiece—even as those spaces were in the very process of becoming 'authorial'. The title-page was an invention of the late-incunable period, as Margaret Smith has shown, and we should not forget the malleability and creative potential of paratext in the incunable and the sixteenth-century printed book; like type assignments and *mise-en-page*, paratextual architectures of this era were in the exciting phase of developing their affiliations and conventions. It is in this phase that images of translators begin to show up, working in tandem with verbal paratexts nearby to suggest a particular relationship between translation and authorship, or a kind of 'transla[u]t[h]orship' (as recently coined by Nathalie Hancisse and Stéphanie Vanasten).⁹ Sarah Howe has written an impressive essay about ninety author portraits (including seven translator portraits) printed 1500–1640, demonstrating 'the authority of presence' in them; five of the twelve translators treated here are not noted in Howe, and others are likely to turn up.¹⁰ These images, standing as they do in the printed book's emergent 'authorial' places, matter in the complex construction of early modern authorship. As part of my new book project on translation and Renaissance authorship, that subject is outside my scope here. The goals of the present essay are instead focused, basic, and specific:

- first, to survey briefly images of twelve translators in a range of early modern English printed books, revisiting Venuti's invisibility concept and its opposite corollary, visibility;
- within that survey, to sketch very briefly how the images, with the help of other paratexts, depict the nature of a translator's authorship;
- then, to focus on one particularly ambiguous case, the paratextual portrayal, in image and in words, of Henrician translator Margaret More Roper.

The overview begins with the frontispiece to the Huntington copy of the first book printed in English, Caxton's translation and printing of Raoul Lefèvre's *Recueil des histoires de Troye* as the *Recnyell of the Hystoryes of Troye* (1473), and ends with the engraved portrait-bust of Ben Jonson in his translation of Horace (1640). Between those endpoints, I survey, in roughly chronological order, images of eleven other translators: Margaret More Roper (who receives detailed analysis in section 2), William Tyndale, Thomas Gale, John Hall, John Harington, Philemon Holland, John

Florio, Abraham Darcie, Samson Lennard, George Chapman, and Francis Hawkins. Images of these translators deploy elements of several early modern styles of portrayal: here I do not mean sitting styles or styles of an artist *per se*, but rather general kinds, tactics, or modes of portrayal. We find, for instance, a medieval presentation-copy or medieval-courtly style; a ‘clerical’ or scribal style; what we might call a ‘humanist’ style; a numismatic style; a ‘courtier portrait’ style, and a related ‘portrait-miniature’ style. Styles of representation, of course, are not separate from one another; they overlap and share features. They also reflect current cultural trends in other media, such as oil and tempera painting, architectural and funerary inscription, furniture carving, coins, or clothing and textiles; those connections are fascinating but outside the scope of this essay. These loosely defined styles may also suggest broader habits, not quite memes but recognisable tactics of representation and elements that signified in particular ways, as a kind of shorthand for early modern readers. And these are used in images of translators to suggest fairly specific things to readers about particular kinds of translators and translations.¹¹

The translators surveyed here are grouped in a rough chronology, according to the style of portrait and its paratextual placement and appearance. Most are full-page images, whether on frontispieces, title versos, or in other parts of the book; some are images integrated into title-pages, with the composition and arrangement resulting in variable prominence and value for the translator. All the images should be understood in relation to the surrounding paratext and the nature of the work itself. The translator’s visibility in a portrait-image, that is, is inflected by the placement of the image on the page and in the volume, the relation to verbal paratext, as well as the style of the image and the elements included. The visibility of translators in these images not only suggests their importance in emergent constructions of authorship, but also conveys, in this condensed, paratextual shorthand, how their writing, sometimes depicted as ‘authorial’ work, is to be understood and valued.

EARLY PRINTED PORTRAIT-IMAGES OF TRANSLATORS: VISIBILITY, STYLES, AND IMPLICATIONS

The first book printed in English contains an individuated portrait of its translator that is also a portrait of its printer. Extant only in the Huntington Library copy of *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* (Bruges, 1473), the

Fig. 3.1 R. Lefèvre, *hEre begynneth the volume intituled and named the recuyell of the historyes of Troye* ... [tr. William Caxton] (Bruges: William Caxton, 1473), frontispiece. Rare Books 62222, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. (Image reproduced by permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission)



frontispiece portrait of William Caxton, translator and printer, although it is a copperplate-engraved print, participates fully in the traditions of the medieval manuscript presentation-scene illumination (Fig. 3.1).¹² Presentation scenes depicted authors in embodied, individuated relation to their patrons, in real-world social settings, usually court(ly) interior scenes.¹³ The most traditional kind of scene has the author, kneeling at centre or just off-centre, reaching up to hand the book to the royal or noble patron, who is either standing or seated at a slightly higher level and usually at centre or just off-centre. Specific individuals, with personalised heraldry and detailed, luxurious furnishings and clothing, usually surround the central presentation pair. Such scenes represented and reinforced the firm textual and social hierarchies of codex production in which authors, scribes, compilers, and translators, although working in a complex,

collaborative system of textual production,¹⁴ were highly visible as individuals in a clear, subordinate relation to the patron. We find these conventions of medieval manuscript codices, like the social and textual hierarchies they represent, still fully active in the *Recuyell's* frontispiece: Caxton, the translator and printer of this book, kneels near the centre to present it to the patron, Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy. The translator-printer Caxton occupies the central 'authorial' position, and the figure of the little ape, an emblem of mimicry and imitation, further represents the work of translation (as I argue elsewhere, the ape may represent Caxton's dual role as translator and printer).¹⁵ Like an author, a highly visible, even central translator(-printer) is embedded in textual and social hierarchies: the visibility nevertheless encodes relational and circumscribed value and specifically limited powers. Only in the verbal paratexts does Caxton name the dead author Raoul Lefèvre and specify his relation to the Burgundian court. The prologues and epilogues articulate Caxton's multiple roles and motives in the creation of the book: how long and toilsome was the translation, how important and supportive was the patron, how well the new medium of print offered advantages of speed and distribution, and how strong were his national, personal, and financial motives for using the new medium. Although the image makes this individuated translator(-printer) highly visible, and suggests the complexity of his roles in creating this book, nevertheless, without the verbal paratext, those roles would be emblematised but not explained. So this initial case is one in which even a very high, specific, and nuanced visibility for the translator forms a necessary but insufficient introduction to the subtleties of translauthorship.

A similarly high paratextual visibility for the translator is very different in Margaret More Roper's translation of Erasmus, *A Devout treatise vpon the Pater noster* (c.1526) (Fig. 3.2). This image is treated fully below; we should simply note here this woodcut's relationship to other early sixteenth-century images depicting authors and scribes alike. The clerical style it shares with such images is ultimately derived from medieval manuscript miniatures signalling learned authority. One such oft-recycled scribe-at-desk image is found on at least twenty-one titles or title versos between 1517 and 1530 (Fig. 3.3).¹⁶ However, some very famous individual authors, such as John Skelton or Christine de Pizan, were also depicted in this way, as types.¹⁷ Roper, likewise, is not portrayed as an individual but rather as a clerical or scholarly type; only the verbal paratexts mention a translator (and they do not name her). Before about 1540, English woodcuts do not use the individuating fine detail and cross-hatching

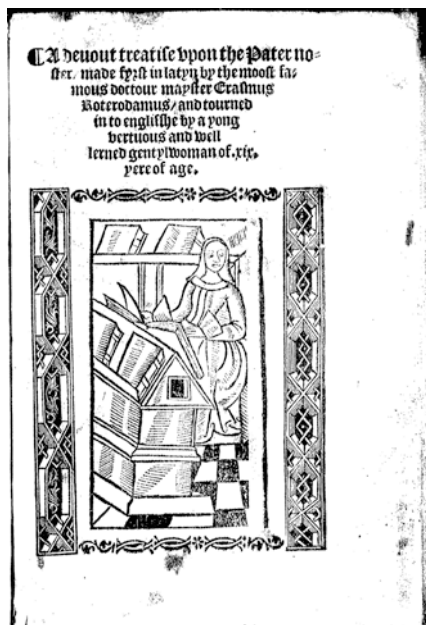


Fig. 3.2 *A Deuout treatise vpon the Pater noster, made fyrst in latyn by the moost famous doctour mayster Erasmus Roterodamus ...* [tr. Margaret More Roper] (London: Berthelet, 1526), title-page. © The British Library Board (shelfmark: C.37.e.6.(1.)). (Image reproduced by permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission)

facilitated by metal-engraving technology, so at least some part of Roper's de-individuation is technical rather than interpretive or intended. Technical practices in England at the time, as well as gender norms, result in what I term here a nearly paradoxical 'anonymous visibility'.

During the subsequent three decades, however, Tudor translators William Tyndale (1534), Thomas Gale (c.1564), and John Hall (c.1565) are presented in individuated frontispiece portraits that detail their particular facial features and clothing.¹⁸ These translators enjoy a very high visibility as well, but instead of relying on late-medieval courtly conventions of depiction, or on the more appropriate scholarly or clerical conventions of woodcut types, images of these translators draw on continental humanist-style portraiture familiar in figures of learned divines such as Erasmus, Luther, Viret, or Melanchthon. The simplest instances of this

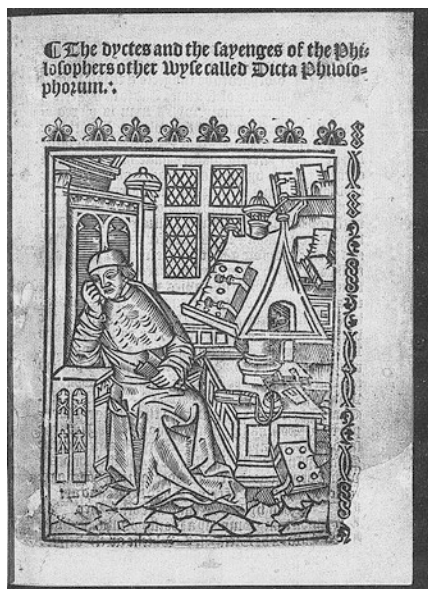


Fig. 3.3 W. Al-Mubashshir ibn Fatik, *The dyctes and the sayenges of the Philosophers* [tr. Anthony Woodville and William Caxton] (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1528), title-page. Rare Books 59068, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. (Image reproduced by permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission)

style of portrayal focus on a single bust (usually in three-quarter view, showing the figure in sober robes and often in a scholar's or cleric's hat) and remove all setting: no courtly presentation-scene interiors, no scriptorium interiors, no lecterns or cathedra. (Some humanist-author portraits do show an interior study; one thinks of Hieronymus Cock's famously detailed, posthumous engraving of Erasmus, at his desk by a window, complete with inkhorns, pens, papers and books, and the author with his hand in an open book.) The simpler humanist-portrait style, however, may seem particularly apt—or is it passively assertive?—in Tyndale's *New Testament* (1534), facing as it does the title-page's modesty: the book was 'dylygently corrected and compared with the Greke by Willyam Tindale'. Where the title reduces the translator's role to that of an innocent philologist, a diligent, comparative corrector, the portrait style implicitly elevates his status to something closer to a humanist-authorial agency. It is thus

potentially more dangerous for Tyndale in that context, although, as Sarah Howe points out, this image was added after the work's initial publication.¹⁹ Tyndale is, as always, a special case.

The more typical, uncontroversial Thomas Gale (1507–87) and John Hall (1529/30–1568/69), both surgeons and translators of medical works, and apparently friends, are each represented in high-visibility, individuated, humanist-style, full-page portraits, each with different implications. John Hall's translation of Lanfranco of Milan's surgical treatise features a title-page filled with a description of his complex authorial roles. The title-page predicts, in a way, the title verso's image of him as a learned doctor and translator: Hall's humanist-style portrait is in an elaborate, scrolled, decorated cartouche, dated 1564, titled with his name, age, and an epigram in Latin beneath.²⁰ Next, Hall's own preface explains his work as humbly collaborative, but Thomas Gale's commendatory preface follows, extolling Hall's translation. In this case, verbal paratexts both modest and laudatory elaborate on the visibility of the simple, humanist portrait style. However, images of surgeon Thomas Gale, self-publisher and translator of Galen and Giovanni da Vigo, offer a different flavour of high-humanist visibility. Like Hall's, Gale's portrait in *Certaine Workes of Chirurgerie* is a full-page frontispiece inside an architectural cartouche, and with his Latin age and date (STC 11529; not listed in Howe's survey of portraits). Gale's portrait adds a detail often used in printed images of continental humanists, his hand in the book; self-publishing Gale addresses readers in paratext as if he were the author.

Later in the period, the situation grows much more complex. Some images of translators appear in medallions inside title-pages, and there are probably more of these than we now know, because they are not currently catalogued or indexed as portraits in any systematic way. Although much further research is needed, two very famous title-page medallions must be mentioned here. First, John Harington's translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* features his title-page portrait in 1591, 1607, and 1634. The extensive scholarship pertaining to this image includes classic work by Jason Scott-Warren, who calls the edition of 1591 'a triumph of book design', and exciting new work by Joshua Reid.²¹ Another significant translation featuring a translator portrait inset in the title-page medallion at bas-de-page is Philemon Holland's translation of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*. (Holland's portrait is not on Howe's list of ninety author portraits.) Much less scholarship has treated this image, which, like that of Harington, places the translator in a central-vertical-line relation to the

author; that is, the translator occupies the larger, central bas-de-page position, while the dead author hovers at top centre, in profile in a numismatic-style, small (not to say irrelevant) circlet-frame. On such an architectural title-page, with its typical strong vertical columns, figures, and lines, we should probably not make too much of this verticality. Yet it does repeat the vertical axis of translation from higher-status Italian, or in the case of Xenophon, Greek (i.e. high-status author literally above lower-status translator), even as the horizontal plinths and especially the base, like Harington's social position, subtly challenge that vertical relation between authorship and translation, awarding the translator pride of place and centrality (Fig. 3.4).²²

Those images, like the spate of translator portraits of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, bring elements of courtier portraiture to depict translators. Harington's portrait, for instance, is very like the oil-on-panel portrait of Harington by Hieronimo Custodis (c.1590–5), and it is set inside a frame reminiscent of Elizabethan portrait miniatures; engraver Thomas Cockson adds other suggestive details. Such courtier-style portrait engravings include the great, well-known full-page portraits of John Florio (translator of Montaigne) and George Chapman (translator of Homer), as well as portraits of translators now less familiar but important then: Sampson Lennard (d. 1633, translator of Pierre Charron, Buoni, and Du Plessis-Mornay) and Abraham Darcie (fl. 1623–35, translator of Paul de Bellegent's version of Camden's *Annals*). In addition to aristocratic clothing—Darcie's with full Cavalier frills—the details added to such portraits remind viewers that a translator may have also been a courtier, or may have aspired to be, with not only scholarly but political or military engagements, and thus participating not only in the contemplative but also the active life. Lennard, for example, is shown with both his helmet and a scroll and pen, with the motto 'Tam Martis Quam Mercurio' [as much about Mars as about Mercury], a motto also used by poets George Gascoigne and Thomas Watson. The coat of arms further reminds viewers of Lennard's status and his important role as an antiquarian in the College of Arms (Fig. 3.5). Such portraits locate translation in broader Elizabethan society, politics, and diplomacy. Often enough, poems and other inscriptions add further information about the translator's position with respect to the author, and both with respect to the culture.

Nothing in these courtly, scholarly, humanist, or courtier styles of translator portrait, however, fully prepares us for the last example in this survey, the bust-in-niche portrait of Ben Jonson (reproduced as Fig. 9.1 in Line Cottage's essay, p. 213).²³ Marie-Alice Belle remarks that the



Fig. 3.4 L. Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso in English Heroicall Verse*, [translated] by John Harington (London: Richard Field, 1591), title-page. Rare Books 62722, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California

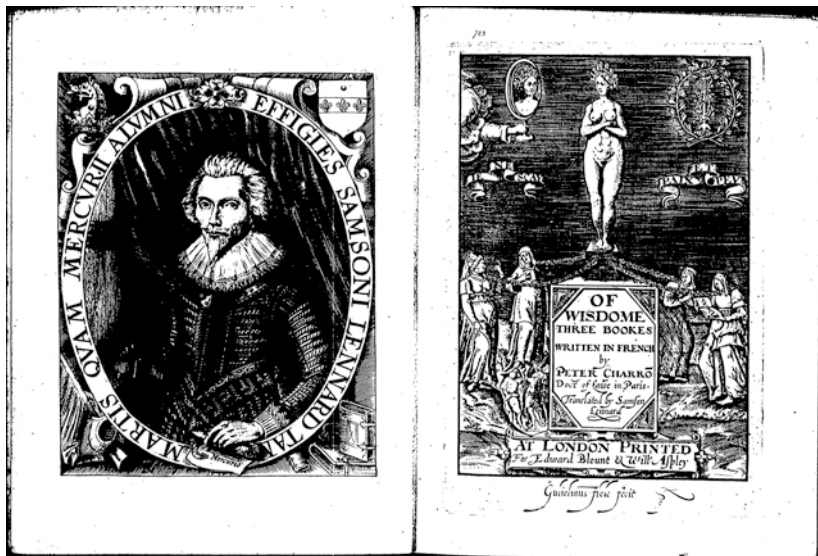


Fig. 3.5 *Of wisdom three bookes written in French by Pierre Charron ... translated by Samson Lennard* (London: Printed for Edward Blount and Will. Aspley, 1630), frontispiece. Rare Books 99536, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. (Image reproduced by permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission)

frontispiece to Ben Jonson's translation of Horace's *Art of Poetry* (1640) 'merges the conventional representation of Horace as a marble "*à l'antique*" with Jonson's actual portrait, as printed on the frontispiece of his *Works*, and the laudatory poems celebrate Jonson as "the Horace of our times"; this image cleverly grafts the translator into a classical styling, blurring the author-translator distinction.²⁴ There is of course a great deal more to learn and to say about all these Tudor and Stuart images, for they reveal an ongoing negotiation of the translator-author relation and of the value and prominence of translation in literary culture.

Although the high visibility of the translator in such images certainly signals the translator's importance, it never means only that. As this initial survey shows, the kind of 'translauthorship' or translatorial authorship conveyed depends on an image's placement within a volume, its composition on the page and within an opening, the level and kind of detail presented, the allusiveness of the style used for the image, and in most

cases, the relation with the verbal paratext. Similarly, the question of whether a translator's portrait appears in first or subsequent editions—whether added, enhanced, replaced, or omitted, whether posthumous, whether by a new printer—sometimes counts. One should also consider the full paratext, visual and verbal; the characteristics of the physical book and the state of the technologies that created it; the role of the printer and other producers; the relation and relative status of author and translator at the time of publication; and other biographical, historical, and contextual factors. Portrayals of translators raise broader, perhaps unanswerable questions: what effect does a translator portrait have on the reputation of a work, an author, or a translator, and on long-term canonicity? How does the increasingly visible, detailed presence of translator portraits in early modern books inflect our sense of the authorial role or author-function?

The following case study makes a first attempt at reading a translator depiction in its several contexts: this early image (Fig. 3.2) appears on the title-page of a translation by Margaret More Roper, with accompanying verbal paratexts (title and preface). When considered within this century-long range of translator portrayals, this case is remarkable, not only for the gender of its translator, but also for the high visibility—an embodied, moralised, ambiguous visibility, the paradoxical 'anonymous visibility'—with which both the visual and verbal paratexts represent her.

THE FEMALE TRANSLATOR'S 'ANONYMOUS VISIBILITY': MARGARET MORE ROPER

Margaret More Roper's translation, *A Deuout treatise vpon the Pater noster*, shows evidence of a strong paratextual effort on the part of preface-writer and editor Richard Hyrde, and a strong but less well documented effort on the part of printer Thomas Berthelet, to represent Roper as a fully embodied figure of translator-authorship (in the edition of c.1526, at least; Fig. 3.2).²⁵ *A Deuout treatise* consists of seven commentaries or meditations on the verses of the Lord's Prayer; the author of the Latin version, Erasmus of Rotterdam, was a friend of Margaret More and her family.²⁶ *A Deuout treatise* presents an intriguingly ambiguous visibility for a translator: on the one hand, she is never named, and when she is described, it is in a secondary relation to the author, Erasmus, and to God, the ultimate *auctor*. On the other hand, what Foucault might have called a translator-function is highly visible, indeed is more visible than the

author-function in all the paratexts. That is, despite the very famous male author, the lower-status female translator is depicted in the large title image with a greater visibility than the author enjoys, and she is described in considerable detail in the paratexts (title and preface), which barely mention him; both kinds of paratext focus on her embodiment.

Brenda Hosington has thoroughly contextualised this work among the important early printed translations by women. She explains not only this translation's relation to early print culture, but also its multiple, additional contexts: '[Roper] was placing herself, however discreetly, within a circle of humanist friends'; the work was 'part of the fervour for religious works' and 'in the vanguard of a movement to spread Erasmus' brand of Christian humanism ... to a wider English readership through the medium of translation', as well as 'in the vanguard of another humanist-inspired movement, to promote interest in and defend the education of women'.²⁷ Jaime Goodrich considers an interpretive problem Roper poses: the picture of her as 'a dutiful daughter who mirrored her father's interests' is what 'has so troubled feminist critics'. Goodrich recovers the work's 'participation in a public agenda', despite its paratextual signals of private domesticity.²⁸ Hope Johnston's essay on *A Deuout treatise* for the EEBO introductions series reviews the research and provides important details about the uncertain dating of the two editions.²⁹ Johnston explains why 'one should be wary ... of identifying STC 10477 as the censured edition', and sets the earliest likely date as a more reasonable, to my mind, 1524 (the date of Hyrde's preface) and the latest as 1528 (the date of Wolsey's fall from favour; Wolsey's arms fill the title verso). Johnston also points out the work's several areas of continuing critical potential and relevance: 'early modern women's studies; Tudor translation practices; devotional writing; and the development of Northern humanism'.

In addition to these backgrounds, a close reading of the verbal and visual paratexts together underscores how the translator-author relationship is represented here. The full title explains the work's origin and the relative status of the author and the translator: *A Deuout treatise vpon the Pater noster, made fyrst in latyn by the moost famous doctour mayster Erasmus Roterodamus, and tourned in to englisshe by a yong vertuous and well lerned gentylwoman of. xix. yere of age*. Beneath the title is a woodcut, inside pieced borders, of a woman in sober garb at a two-sided lectern or desk, her hands in an open book, with two closed (clasped) books behind and above her on a shelf, and two closed (clasped) books on the opposite side of the lectern. The title itself explains the relationship of the two writers

involved as a vertical one: the work was 'made fyrst' by the most famous doctor, master Erasmus, and then 'turned into englysshe' by the young, virtuous, learned gentlewoman. The author's primacy is secure here; this is not a case of the translator rivalling the author or taking on an equal status, as we see with some other translators.³⁰ The translator's *de facto* status is low, relative to that of the author, because of her youth and gender, but her authority is enhanced by her class and education (there is a hint of 'wonderment' that a such a young person, and a young woman at that, could be so learned as to translate this). The title pairing of 'made fyrst' and 'turned into englysshe' preserves the verticality of this translation's dynamic, and the language hierarchy (Latin–English) is reiterated in the gender hierarchy (male–female).³¹

The image is not an individuated portrait of Margaret More Roper. It is instead a type, something like what Martha Driver calls 'everywoman' woodcuts, interchangeable factotum images frequently reused to accompany sometimes widely varied content, or what Taylor Clement theorises as de-individuated 'moveable types'.³² Indeed one prior context for this image was completely unlike this serious, humanist-style representation of a female translator. Hosington analyses its previous use in a misogynist satire, the *Gospelles of dystaues* (c.1510), showing that it has been cut down to exclude parts of the prior image; the image also previously appeared as Sapientia (wisdom).³³ As Patricia Demers likewise notes, the woodcut 'is at best a generic representation of the scholarly woman'.³⁴ Readers of the title will probably infer that it depicts Margaret, but it never designates her as an individual. Likewise, in another paratextual sleight of hand, Richard Hyrde does not name Roper in his long preface, some 3400 words written to 'Fraunces S.' (Frances Stafferton or Staverton, Roper's cousin), although his addressee and other readers in the More circle would surely have known of whom Hyrde spoke.

A closer reading of the image itself suggests certain things about how this translator is to be understood. The style of this image is precisely that of the early woodcut author portrait derived from the traditional, clerical scribe-at-desk (Fig. 3.3). She is clearly a writer, a textual producer in the scholarly, clerical line; but is she an *author*? The title, of course, specifies not, and preserves her lower place in the textual hierarchy. Given the title, the picture does not challenge the authorial, yet it allies her with the scholarly-clerical lineage of *auctoritas*. Demers explains that the woodcut 'attempts to define and encase the female subject' and that the pieced border's 'interlocking, enfoliated tracery ... [is] suggestive of a cloister'

(70). That is certainly a strong effect in this image, showing the female translator in a simple head-veil and sober non-courtly, unembellished clothing, as almost cloistered, chaste. I would further speculate that the two-sided lectern could be seen as an image of the author–translator relation. At the most practical level, the two-sided lectern offers additional storage of books and a place for another reader and writer to work. (Unlike the turning lectern depicted in the title-page authorial image of Skelton, which clearly was useful for one reader to use more than one book, this lectern is fixed.) As a practical object, the two-sided lectern, like the bookshelves behind and above, holds a store of past works used in writing the new work. It thus materialises the intertextuality that was so crucial in older ideas of writing (such as the process of *compilatio*, the convention of the *accessus ad auctores*, and so on). The two-sided lectern may even, if we consider it most imaginatively, potentially invite us to infer the absent presence of the other, prior author: a prior place at the lectern, an author’s place, mirroring the place of the translator opposite. The author’s place is vacated, the translator’s place now occupied. The scene is framed such that no figure is visible in this left-hand, prior place, but can easily be imagined as just having been there, having used the books that are now closed. The translator across actively engages with the open book. And the female translator-figure is not looking across the lectern at a phantom, prior author, but rather is looking away, to her left, much like the scribe in Fig. 3.3, in a contemplative gaze. Read left-to-right in this admittedly very speculative way, the two-sided lectern could suggest a subtle motion from past, prior authorship to present translatorship, the same motion taken in the title.

Even ignoring the desk, Richard Hyrde’s verbal paratexts further articulate Margaret’s role and further explain the issue of her gender and her youth. The preface opens by directly addressing the question of women’s education, a trending topic in 1526³⁵: ‘I Haue herde many men put great dout whether it shulde be expedyent and requisite or nat, a woman to haue lernyng in bokes of latyn and greke.’ A brief *refutatio* explains the objections to women’s learning in the Classics: ‘some vtterly affyrme that it is nat onely nother necessarye nor profytable, but also very noysome and ieoperdous’; women are frail, swayed by every novelty, and inclined to vice; learning in classical texts, which are more sweet to the ear than wholesome to the mind, would ‘enflame their stomakes’ to ‘that vice’ to which men say they are already too inclined, and would teach them all the better to achieve ‘their frowarde entente and purpose’ (sig. a.ii). Hyrde

then vividly defends women with an attack, saying that men who argue thusly 'eyther regarde but lytell what they speke in this mater, or els', they envy the learning they don't have and won't trouble to get (sigs. a.ii–[a2]^v). Next, Hyrde's general defence of women's learning in the Classics and of women's nature and capacities extends more than four full pages (sigs. a.ii–[a4]^v) before turning to specifics and to this exemplary translator, Margaret More Roper:

For I neuer herde tell nor reed of any woman well lerned that euer was (as plentuous as yuell tonges be) spotted or infamed as vicious. But on the oth-erside many by their lernyng taken suche encrease of goodnesse [that] many may beare them wytnesse of their vertue, of whiche sorte I coulde reherse a great nombre, bothe of olde tyme and late. Sauynge that I wyll be contente as for nowe with one example of oure owne countre and tyme: this gentyl-woman, whiche translated this lytell boke hereafter folowyng. (sig. [a4]^v)

In this long, general defence of women and women's classical learning, then specified with the case of Margaret, Hyrde repeats, and inverts, in a way, the interplay of generality and specificity we see on the title-page: the words at the top specify this particular learned, nineteen-year-old gentlewoman who translates Erasmus, and the image below sets her out as a scholarly everywoman.

Hyrde's verbal paratext, like the title image, specifically links the question of the translator's role and value to the female body. Predictably enough, Hyrde's preface characterises Roper's behaviour as exemplary ('of whom other women may take example of prude[n]t, humble, and wyfely behauour, charitable & very christe[n] vertue'). But more is involved than just her 'vertuous co[n]uersacion, lyuyng, and sadde demeanoure.' Hyrde creates a body-soul analogy about her behaviour and virtue, 'with whiche she hath with goddes helpe endeuoured her selfe no lesse to garnisshe her soule, than it hath lyked his [God's] goodnesse with louely beauty and comelynesse to garnysshe and sette out her body'. The syntax partly hides the fact that Hyrde grants Margaret somewhat more agency than the conventional, moralising language would suggest: it is she (with God's help, of course) who has garnished her own soul with virtue, and God who has set out her body with beauty. The title-page has set out a scholarly female body; this part of the preface reiterates the embodied female scholar depicted on the title-page. (Marital pleasure, so great that the unlearned cannot imagine it, is also a benefit of women's classical

learning, as Hyrde explains it, but nothing on the title-page predicts that aspect of the female translator's role.)³⁶ Later, Hyrde advises the addressee with further bodily discourse: 'Therfore nowe good Fraunces folowe styll on her steppes, looke euer vpon her lyfe to enfourme your owne therafter, lyke as ye wolde loke in a glasse to tyre your body by' (sig. b.iii); he mentions Frances as 'nourrysshed up with her [mother's] owne teate' (sig. b. iii). In several ways, the preface's stress on female embodiment is strong, matching or exceeding that of the title-page. Yet she is never named: Hyrde seems to think he has actually named Margaret, though he does not: 'I sende you this boke, lytell in quantite but bigge in value, tourned out of latyn in to englysshe by your owne *forenamed kynswoman*' (sig. b.ii, emphasis mine).

The second edition of this work (c.1531) undoes whatever visible challenge the translator has posed and whatever claims to authorship have been suggested: the image of the female translator is removed from the second edition, a new, architectural title-page is supplied, and an image of the author, Erasmus, is added inside the book (sig. b.iii^v). Had the translator-function, in its strongly embodied womanhood, rivalled the author-function just a bit too much for its context? Johnston's close comparison of the two editions concludes that despite their very similar content,

they feel quite different. The early edition emphasizes that it is the work of a woman, and a young one at that, with prestigious social standing. The Wolsey arms, surmounted with a cardinal's hat, attests to its orthodoxy, and the royal badges found in the border around it find an echo in the decorative capital 'P' with a Tudor rose enclosed in its lobe at the beginning of Roper's translation. The second edition leverages it instead as a humanist endeavour. The title-page border and Roman capital 'P' are consistent in this case with the style used for Latin texts and then, in time, vernacular ones. The content of *A Devout Treatise* might remain the same, but it seems possible that the two editions represent a deliberate strategy to win the interest of a broad range of readers.³⁷

Margaret's very high visibility is nevertheless ambiguous: as a translator she is never named, and the image is not an individuated portrait but rather a type; yet she is fully embodied and described, praised and specified as exemplary, and she holds much more space and attention in both verbal and visual paratext than the famous author she translates.

Yet even without naming Margaret More Roper as the translator, the verbal and visual paratexts create something like an embodied apologia for female translation, and specifically for this young female translator. One can also view this translation in terms of collaborative creation, as Helen Smith has done, or as something related to what Brenda Hosington studies as the 'explicit collaboration' in the works of Suzanne du Verger and Judith Man, translators who did think of themselves as co-authors.³⁸ For me, the image does not represent this case as one involving that degree of collaboration between author, translator, and editor; nor does it suggest, as does the Caxton frontispiece, that the translator is rivalling the author, or even, as some Elizabethan portrayals do, that the work is the result of co-authorship. Certainly, however, this instance of very high visibility elevates the importance of the translator, embodies her, and places her in consistent, moralised pairings with the author. We can think of this as a paradoxically visible invisibility, or more precisely, an anonymous visibility.

CONCLUSION

Translators, far from invisible, are set out as authors in these specialised paratexts. Portrayals of translators invite readers to consider the embodied translator, not only the name but also the face, clothing, age, social position, and other attributes. The *mise-en-page*, like the *mise-en-volume*, may suggest relations between author and translator—and sometimes, relations with other textual producers such as preface-writers, patrons, or printers.³⁹ In conjunction with accompanying verbal paratexts, images of translators may change our overall understanding of 'authorial' roles in book production, awarding the translator a greater responsibility for the work than modern canons and critics generally register. Such high visibility for translators thus asks us to revisit and historicise the idea of the translator's invisibility, and in particular, to rethink the relationship between translation and authorship in early modern England.⁴⁰

NOTES

1. Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London: Routledge, 1995; 2nd edition, 2008).
2. Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, p. 7.
3. Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, pp. 35 and 34, respectively.

4. Anne Coldiron, 'Visibility Now: Historicizing Foreign Presences in Translation', *Translation Studies*, 5.2 (2012), 189–200. Not all Renaissance translators are highly visible in their texts: some are signalled only with initials, others are anonymous, and still other translations are unattributed. For details, visit <http://www.translationandprint.com>, the SSHRC Insight Grant-supported project directed by Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda M. Hosington, Université de Montréal.
5. Taylor Clement, 'Moveable Types: The De-Individuated Portrait in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Renaissance Studies*, 30.1 (2016), 1–24. On 'everywoman' factotum cuts, see Martha Driver, *The Image in Print: Book Illustration in Late-Medieval England and its Sources* (London: British Library, 2004), pp. 62–8 and 115–50. See also Driver's 'Christine de Pizan and Robert Wyer: *The .C. Hystories of Troye* or *L'Epistre Othea* Englished', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 72 (1997), 125–39; see especially p. 131.
6. Clement, 'Moveable Types', p. 4.
7. On the early modern author portrait see Peter Burke, 'Reflections on the Frontispiece Portrait in the Renaissance', in *Bildnis und Image: das Portrait zwischen Intention und Rezeption*, edited by Andreas Köstler and Ernst Seidl (Köln: Bohlau, 1998), pp. 150–62; Ruth Mortimer, 'The Author's Image: Italian Sixteenth-Century Printed Portraits', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 7 (1996), 7–87; Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England 1550–1600* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979).
8. Those implications I shall pursue as part of a new book project, tentatively titled *Translation and Authorship in Early Modern England*.
9. Nathalie Hancisse and Stéphanie Vanasten, 'Transl[a]ut[h]ors: Questions de traduction à l'écriture: Regards croisés sur la littérature et les échanges culturels entre le XVIème et le XXIème siècles', International Conference held at the Université catholique de Louvain (Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium), 10 September 2015.
10. Sarah Howe, 'The Authority of Presence: The Development of the English Author Portrait, 1500–1640', *PBSA: Publications of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 102.4 (2008), 465–99, whose excellent list of ninety author portraits, seven of which are actually translator portraits, makes many important interventions; however, she calls, for example, Harington's portrait in his translation of the *Orlando Furioso* an author portrait (discussion on pp. 470–2), and lists Florio's portraits as author portraits, where he is in one case a compiler and in the other a translator (p. 472, note 13).
11. The question of different styles of portrayal and what they signified, like the questions of connection to other media, will be treated in the tentatively titled *Translation and Authorship in Early Modern England*.

12. Two chief essays (containing citations of previous work) on this frontispiece are Joseph Dane, "'Wanting the first blank": Frontispiece to the Huntington Copy of Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67.2 (June 2004), 315–25; and Lotte Hellinga-Querido, 'Reading an Engraving: William Caxton's Dedication to Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy', in *Across the Narrow Seas: Studies in the History and Bibliography of Britain and the Low Countries Presented to Anna E. Simoni*, edited by Susan Roach (London: British Library, 1991), pp. 1–15; thanks to Susan Baddeley for signalling and generously sharing a copy of it, April 2016. On the monkey in the scene, see also Colin Davey, 'Monkey "besynesne": Primates, Print, and Patronage, or the Ape and the Book', Durham and Newcastle Late Summer Lecture Series, 17–18 September 2013; available digitally on Academia.edu, exhaustively surveying the history of the monkey image in multiple contexts. My 'Caxton's Ape: A Bilingual Visual Pun?' (unpublished at this writing) cites other scholars on this image, proposes that key visual elements suggest an awareness that the new means of production, the printing press, has intervened in 'authorial' work, and argues that both the problem of imitation and the problem of mechanical reproduction are being raised around this first English printed book.
13. Most usually authors were depicted, but, as we would expect in a scribal culture that valued *compilatio*, scribes and translators also appear as presenters. Classic, easily accessible medieval presentation scenes include the large, haut-de-page illumination of Christine de Pizan, who kneels before the patron queen Isabel de Bavière, giving her the 'works' volume that is now BL MS Harley 4431; see James Laidlaw's project at the University of Edinburgh, <http://www.pizan.lib.ed.ac.uk/>. For an example of a presentation miniature portraying a translator, see Royal Library of Belgium, MS 9242, the *Chroniques de Hainault* (c.1447), the Latin original by Jacques de Guise and the translation by Jean Wauquelin, depicted presenting his book. Andrea Rizzi and John Griffiths, however, note that translators worked in collaborative modes: 'Often cloaked in anonymity, premodern translation is in most cases the result of collaboration, as Belén Bistué recently demonstrated'; 'Review Essay: The Renaissance of Anonymity', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 69 (2016), 200–12 (p. 210). Belén Bistué, *Collaborative Translation and Multi-Version Texts in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).
14. See A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 2nd edition (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).
15. The little ape may also indicate an awareness of the work of print production, as I propose in 'Caxton's Ape: A Bilingual Visual Pun?'

16. See Edward Hodnett, *English Woodcuts 1480–1535, with additions and corrections* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), entries 926–7 and 2373; see examples in the *Kalender of Shepherdes* (1518? and 1528), Wynkyn de Worde's reprinting of *The Dytches and the sayenges of the philosophers* (1528), and several works by Stanbridge, including a re-copied cut in *Accidentia* (Skot, 1529?), *inter alia*.
17. Familiar examples contemporary with *A Deuout Treatise* include title-page portraits of Skelton, usually named as Laureate but otherwise unindividuated, in *A ryght delectable treatyse upon a goodly garlande or chapelet of laurell by mayster Skelton poete laureat* (London: Richard Faukes, 1523); *Skelton Laureate agaynste a somely sowstrowne* (London: J. Rastell, 1527); *Divers balettys and Dytyes solacyous deuysed by master Skelton Laureat* (London: J. Rastell, 1528?). A well-known portrayal of a female author, Christine de Pizan, is repeated four times inside the *Boke of the Cite of Ladyes* (London: Pepwell, 1521; sigs [Aa1–^v, [Aa4]^v, [Pp6]^v, [R3]^v). This image shows a scholarly woman, working at a desk, surrounded by open and closed books (also otherwise unindividuated except in verbal paratexts). Christine de Pizan, like author Skelton but unlike translator Roper, enjoys the enhanced authority of a *cathedra* or covered chair in her author image (that is, authorship beats gender in marked status, in this case).
18. William Tyndale, trans., *The New Testament* (Antwerp: Martin Emperor, [1534]), STC 2826. Lanfranco of Milan, trans. John Hall, *A Most Excellent and Learned Work of Chirurgerie, Called Chirurgia Parua Lanfranci* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1565), STC 15192.
19. Howe, 'The English Author Portrait', Appendix, item 3, 'pasted onto singleton bound opposite TP in BL C.23.a5', p. 493.
20. STC 15192, 1565; one variant has this title verso portrait; another is blank, and another has a paste-in slip on the title verso.
21. Jason Scott-Warren, *Sir John Harington and the Book as Gift* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); and 'Harington, Sir John (*bap.* 1560, *d.* 1612)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, May 2015), online: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.lib.fsu.edu/view/article/12326>, accessed 2 July 2016; and Joshua Reid, 'Serious Play in Sir John Harington's *Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse*', unpublished at this writing.
22. This title-page imitates that of the Venice edition of 1584, where Peace with a cornucopia occupies the prime, central bas-de-page position that Harington's image usurps.
23. I omit here discussion of the portraits of Francis Hawkins (1628–81), child-translator of *An Alarum for Ladies* (1638) from the French of Jean Puget, Monsieur de la Serre. His likeness appears under the inscription, 'François Hawkins tirant à l'aage des [sic] dix ans'; the English poem

beneath treats him as prodigy-translator. This engraved portrait, even more than the others, begs for scholarly and art-historical attention because its style and the author's biography are unusual and suggest a less typical way of conveying what distinguishes this translator. A portrait of Hawkins at eight years old is in a later edition, *Youths Behaviour* (1658), thus after Howe's date-limits.

24. Thanks to Marie-Alice Belle for pointing out this image; correspondence, 9 July 2015; Ben Jonson, *Q. Horatius Flaccus: His Art of Poetry, Englished by Ben Jonson* (London: J. Okes for John Benson, 1640).
25. *A Deuout Treatise vpon the Pater noster, made fyrst in latyn by the moost famous doctour mayster Erasmus Roterodamus, and tourned in to englishe by a yong vertuous and well lerned gentylwoman of. xix. yere of age* [i.e. Margaret More Roper] (London: Berthelet, [1526?], [1531?]); STC 10477 and 10477.5. The second edition removes this image and adds an image of Erasmus inside the book (sig. b.iii^v).
26. In addition to engaging in visits and correspondence, Erasmus names Thomas More and Margaret More Roper in the title to several printings of his commentaries on Prudentius: *Commentarius Erasmi Roterodami in Nuce[m] Onidii, ad Ioannem Morum Thomae Mori filium. Eiusdem commentarius in duos hymnos Prudentii, ad Margaretam Roperam Thomae Mori filiam*. For details, see the USTC, online: <http://ustc.ac.uk>, or the Erasmus Online Database, http://www.erasmus.org/index.cfm?itm_name=erasmusonline-EN
27. Brenda Hosington, 'Women Translators and the Early Printed Book', in *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain 1476–1558*, edited by Vincent Gillespie and Susan Powell (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2014), pp. 248–71. Her discussion includes seven female translators of the period, Margaret Beaufort, Margaret More Roper, Catherine Parr, Mary Tudor, Elizabeth Tudor, Anne Cooke, Mary Clarke Basset.
28. Jaime Goodrich, 'Thomas More and Margaret More Roper: A Case for Rethinking Woman's Participation in the Early Modern Public Sphere', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 39 (2008), 1021–40 (p. 1031).
29. Johnston explains that although A. W. Reed and others following him have identified the *Deuout Treatise* as an edition of 1526, and as one of printer Thomas Berthelet's editions that were censured in that year by vicar general Geoffrey Wharton, there is no real documentation for this assumption; she outlines reasons to think otherwise. She further notes that 'copies of the unauthorized version might not survive in the light of its suppression'. Johnston's essay is found online, at http://gateway.proquest.com.proxy.lib.fsu.edu/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&cres_id=xri:eebo&crft_id=xri:eebo:screen:intro:39961080

30. For example, Caxton has utterly displaced the author in the *Recuyell* presentation frontispiece; see my 'Caxton's Ape'. Translators come to occupy the author portrait space on title versos and frontispieces (e.g. Samson Lennard, Abraham Darcie, John Florio, George Chapman, Francis Hawkins). On some title-pages, both author and translator appear, and the relation is often ambiguous (e.g. Harington or Holland).
31. On vertical versus horizontal translation see Karlheinz Stierle, 'Translatio Studii and Renaissance: From Vertical to Horizontal Translation', in *The Translatability of Cultures: Figurations of the Space Between*, edited by Sanford Budick and Wolfgang Iser (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 55–67.
32. See n. 3 for full citations.
33. Hosington, 'Women Translators and the Early Printed Book', p. 253. The excluded parts are at the viewer's right, showing a schoolroom scene in which the woman at the desk is obviously the instructor of several child-like figures. Thanks to Brenda Hosington for pointing out the prior use as Sapientia (conversation, March 2016, RSA Boston).
34. Patricia Demers, *Women's Writing in English: Early Modern Women* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), p. 70.
35. Considered most famously by Juan Luis Vives; see Demers, *Women's Writing*, for full discussion.
36. 'This is nat the leest: that with her vertuous, worshipfull, wyse, and well lerned husbnde, she hath by the occasyon of her lernynge, and his delyte therin, suche especially conforte, pleasure, and pastyme, as were nat well possyble for one vnlernd couple, eyther to take togyder or to conceyue in their myndes, what pleasure is therin' (sig. b[1]). Later he does admit that the beauty of learning is greater than the beauty of the body, which decays ('be it never so excellent' [b1]^v).
37. Johnston, online, penultimate paragraph.
38. Helen Smith, *Grossly Material Things: Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 33–6. Brenda M. Hosington, 'Collaboration, Authorship, and Gender in the Paratexts Accompanying Translations by Susan Du Verger and Judith Man', in *Gender, Authorship, and Early Modern Women's Collaboration*, edited by Patricia Pender (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, pp. 95–121).
39. Often there is marketing at stake, as so clearly in the case of Gale or Hall. See James Raven, *The Business of Books* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); *Translation and the Book Trade in Early Modern Europe*, edited by José María Pérez Fernández and Edward Wilson-Lee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
40. Thanks to Nicholas Crawford and Taylor Clement for reading an early draft of this essay and to Taylor Clement for reading suggestions.



Textual Standard-Bearers: Translated Titles and Early Modern English Print

Brenda M. Hosington

In the address entitled ‘Not to the Readers: but to the Vnderstanders’ prefacing his 1613 pamphlet *A strange horse-race*, Thomas Dekker says that book titles ‘are like painted Chimnies in great Countrey-houses, make a shew a far off, and catch Trauellers eyes; but comming ner them, neither cast they smoke, nor hath the house the heart to make you drinke’ (sigs. A3^r–A3^v). To illustrate his point, he claims his own title suggests a merry work but in fact conceals its real intention, namely to get money. Dekker’s comments were made in the context of his ongoing quarrel with printers, his several imprisonments for debt, and his awareness of the need, in a time of declining patronage, to harness the potential power of the marketplace to attract a wider and heterogeneous readership. However, they allude to various aspects of early modern titling practices that we shall discuss in this essay: the nature of the relationship, or non-relationship, between text and title; the function of the latter as a marketing or an advertising device; and the question of who among the agents involved in the production of the work exercised authority in choosing the title. We

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shall nevertheless need to go beyond these general considerations as we specifically address translated works, where further dimensions, both linguistic and cultural, come into play in naming and presenting a foreign work in a new language and socio-cultural context, to a new readership, and through the agency of a new writer and printer.

Translating a title, like translating the text it announces, constitutes an act of rewriting, which often requires adaptation of one sort or another in order to serve the various cultural and ideological interests of the target readership. The translated title will appeal in a different way to the new potential reader, and this in turn will have a different impact on his or her response to the work in question. As Colin Symes notes, 'the title, after all, is a work's standard bearer, the point at which initial impressions are created and interest aroused or dashed'.¹ If we accept that the title has a hermeneutic function as well as both a nominative and commercial one, and that this makes it an integral part of the cultural artefact, we must expect any change in the title to have an impact on the reception of the work it introduces. This is true of title changes even within one language (a re-edition of a novel with a new title, for example); all the more so, then, for translated ones.

While titles have attracted the attention of scholars in a variety of disciplines since the 1970s, little has been said about the challenge of translating titles, although not a few writers who discuss titles actually choose translated works as examples. Even less has been said about early modern titles, despite an increased interest in title-pages and frontispieces on the part of book and print historians. As for the titling of early modern translated texts, it has received no critical attention to date, except for a few discussions of certain specific works.² These various lacunae will be demonstrated in a review of the literature. Then, by discussing a fairly wide sampling of the titles given to printed translations in the period 1490–1640, we shall see to what extent they do in fact constitute textual 'standard bearers', with translation and print working together to create ways by which to appeal to the new and very different readership. We shall also examine the kinds of relationship titles establish between source and target text, author and translator, their ways of modifying original titles for ideological, cultural, commercial, or practical purposes, and their employment of various translating strategies. In the years we are considering, roughly 6140 individual printed translated items have been recorded, obviously far too large a number to be discussed in one essay.³ We shall therefore focus on the corpora of translated titles produced by three printers whose trans-

lation output was significant and spanned the period under consideration: Richard Pynson, John Wolfe, and Thomas Harper.

* * *

Since the 1970s, writers on titles, or titologists, have in various ways recognised the dual designative and commercial nature of the title, seen its close connection with the work as an interdependent relationship, defined it as a means of setting in action and modulating the reading process, described it as a framing device because it existed inside and outside the work, and defined it as a place in which to indicate genre, both implicitly and explicitly.⁴ However, only one, Harry Levin, mentions translation: 'Differences of culture and of language are revealed expressly in the words that people choose to characterise their books: and translation, here again as elsewhere, poses problems and devises keys.'⁵ Unfortunately, he discusses neither.

Other writers have made comments containing a particular resonance for translation, although they themselves do not say so. Wolfgang Karrer claims that titles are above all intertextual, carrying with them a cultural and social capital, albeit one that embodies conflicting codes because it differs according to the new cultural and social receptor milieu. This is certainly applicable to translated titles.⁶ Gérard Genette's statements concerning the 'connotative capacities of titles', which are 'considerable and of all kinds', are also of great pertinence, especially as he describes the connotative features of titles as 'those most laden with intentions but also most fraught with unintended effects, possible traces of an individual or collective unconscious'.⁷ It is these 'traces' that challenge any linear conception of translation as a mere transfer of values into another culture and language. The significance of connotation, as well as of intertextuality, for titles is reiterated by Marie Maclean and, again, some of her comments can be fruitfully applied to translated works. Titles can 'work on the principle of inclusion, appealing to as wide a cultural code as possible ... They may, on the other hand, deliberately exclude ... They can indicate both sameness and identification with the wider community or a deliberate marking of difference'.⁸ This echoes, albeit unwittingly, the binary division of translating methods into 'foreignization' and 'domestication'.⁹ Furthermore, her description of titles as intertextual, appealing especially to readers who can seize the intended references, has particular implications and poses specific problems for translating titles, since those

references are often culture-bound. Finally, Maclean supports her claim that ‘the title offers guidance’ and influences and controls the reader’s approach to the text by referring to Genette’s examples of English works, all identified by their translated French titles that inevitably inspire a different approach to the text, evoke different associations, and raise different expectations.¹⁰

Maclean’s discussion of translated titles does not go beyond this, but even translation specialists have paid the subject scant attention. A functionalist approach was suggested by Christiane Nord, for whom titles perform traditional text-functions because they are a text-type in their own right. The translator’s problem is to reconcile the functionality conditions operating in the target language with the sender’s intentions articulated in the source-language title.¹¹ Maurizio Viezzi asserted that a new target language title might present a different point of view, highlight a different character, be more explicit, add genre information, offer a different hermeneutic perspective, suggest a moral lesson, contain intertextual or intertitular references, emphasise the seductive, commercial appeal of the work, and differ in semantic content.¹²

Surprisingly, book historians have also given titles short shrift, preferring to concentrate on the visual, material, and semantic features of the title-page as a whole, and on their bibliographical importance and commercial function.¹³ In 1973, Herbert Grabes established a typology of so-called ‘mirror-titles’ in England between 1550 and 1700, demonstrating their wide use in a range of genres and the ways in which they function metaphorically for works calling for spiritual, intellectual, moral, or social reflection. He made only one observation on translated titles, that after 1500, as vernacular works increased in number, they seldom contained the mirror metaphor.¹⁴ This is in fact incorrect. They account for 14.2 per cent of all mirror-titled works, a figure that compares favourably with the 15.5 per cent for translations as a percentage of total print output during those years.¹⁵

Apart from Grabes, not one book historian who has written on titles has discussed them with regard to translations. Eleanor Shevlin has discussed the evolution of the title in the context of an increasing commodification of the book from the sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries.¹⁶ She relates the title’s denotative, descriptive, and connotative functions to questions of authorship, marketing, and printerly intervention, although she focuses on the commercial and legal rights that the title increasingly conferred in the seventeenth century and on its use as an advertising pro-

cedure. The title nevertheless took second place to the visual features of the title-page, while marketing aims outweighed any hermeneutic or aesthetic considerations that would link title and text. This, she claims, was because titles were usually devised, not by the author but by the publisher.

In *The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance*, Michael Saenger also focuses on the power of the title to advertise a work and make it marketable. He points to it as an important genre, although not often discussed as such, and asks by which mechanisms it generated expectations in the reader.¹⁷ One is the use of what he calls a ‘conceited’ title, more usually called ‘metaphorical’ since it presents a metaphoric conception of the work. It can sometimes be reinforced by a metaphorical subtitle intended to connect the conceit of the title with the text of the work, and to reinforce the title’s engagement with the reader.

Victoria Gibbons is also concerned with the standardisation, increased commodification, and ever-expanding market for books resulting from the gradual development of the printing press but argues that they simply made titles more significant, rather than more usual. Moreover, there was greater continuity between medieval manuscript and printed book than we think, as a poetics of titles would demonstrate.¹⁸ Ceri Sullivan, like Saenger, pleads for a greater appreciation of the importance of titles, given book historians’ awareness of the inter-location of text and title-page. She challenges today’s disdain for the early modern long title, much of which is now generally held to be ‘irrelevant’, and insists on the fact that early modern titles were believed to constitute an integral part of the text.¹⁹ As proof, she quotes the prefaces to booksellers’ catalogues, which emphasise the importance of printing full titles, including those that indicate genre. William London, discussed by Warren Boutcher in this volume (pp. 000), insists in his ‘Epistle to the Reader’ that a shortened title ‘makes many good profitable Books strangers to the World’, while Andrew Maunsell considered genre labels so integral to the books in his catalogue that he used them as headings for the various categories.²⁰ Lastly, Sullivan raises the question of who created titles, questioning Shevlin’s contention that since the seventeenth-century author had little or no control in the matter, they can be dismissed as simply advertising.

These various general issues that I have identified in the review of the literature—the functions of relating title to content, modulating reader response, providing generic information, and acting as an intertextual signpost transferring cultural capital from one work to another—as well as

those specifically addressing early modern titles, will now be discussed with regard to the following case studies.

* * *

Richard Pynson, printer, bookseller, and bookbinder in London from 1492 to 1529, officially King's Printer from 1510, and Printer to the City of London from 1517, produced forty-three individual translated works. They fall into three groups in terms of their titles: those with none; those preceded by an incipit, or heading, used in place of a title and found immediately before the beginning of the text; and those that rejoice in a full title. Of the first one need say nothing, except that they number only seven. The incipits and full titles account for eighteen each, which demonstrates that the manuscript method of introducing a text by an incipit was still being used a half century after the advent of print in England, since Pynson's last translation with incipit dates from 1527. He prints two editions of Barclay's translation of Mancinus's *Libellus de quatuor virtutibus*, one with a long, detailed incipit and one with an extremely short title. Moreover, in another translation he combines both. A title introduces what was intended to be the full work, *A ful deuout and gostely treatyse of the imytacyon ... of ... cryste*, but an incipit is used for Margaret Beaufort's rendering of Book IV, added later but given a separate title-page: *Here beginethe the forthe boke of the folowinge Iesu cryst*.

Some incipits directly translate those found in the source texts without making any changes. Examples are Pierre Gringoire's 1500 *Ce present liure appelé le chasteau de labour*, translated as, *Here begynneth the castell of laboure*, or the 1496 anonymous *Cy est le compost et Kalendrier des bergiers*, translated as *Here begynneth the Kalender of shepherdes*. Others, however, effect modifications of various types. Patterns of amendment can be observed in the more complex translated incipits: naming the author, which adds both cultural capital and commercial value to the translation, naming the translator, patron, or commissioner, and sometimes offering added information of various types.

The naming of the author was common in both original and translated incipits but in the latter, the translator's name is also often added. This not only reflects the relationship between author and translator but, more specifically, relates to the question of visibility, first discussed by Lawrence Venuti with regard to texts post-dating 1650 but more fruitfully examined for our period by Anne Coldiron. Rightly arguing that different and varied

forms of translator visibility were practised in the medieval and Renaissance period, Coldiron identified one site in particular—paratexts—where such visibility expanded and flourished.²¹ I am suggesting that one of these in particular, namely titles, provided an excellent opportunity for making the translator very clearly visible, especially since the title-page was what the potential buyer saw first in an age when books were mostly sold without covers.

Seven of Pynson's incipits name the translator, and even his or her station in life, while seven name the author. They thus enjoy equal visibility. For example, the translator of Boccaccio's *De casibus illustrium virorum* is 'Tohn Ludgate mo[n]ke of the monastery of seint edmu[n]des Bury'; Froissart is translated by 'Tohan Bouchier knyght lorde Berners, deputie general of those that effect modifications of various types. ye kynges towne of Calais and marchesse of the same'. Margaret Beaufort's name, as already noted, adorned the separate title-page of Book IV of the *Imitacyon* in her capacities of both translator and commissioner: *Here beginethe the forthe boke of the folowyng Iesu cryst that of the contempnyng of the world. Inprynted at the commaundement of the most excellent prynces Margarete: moder unto our souereyne lorde kinge Henry the vii. Countes of Richemont and Darby And by the same Prynces it was translated oute of Frenche into Englysshe in fourme and maner ensuinge*. Other translators such as Caxton and Barclay have to share the billing with Aesop and Sallust respectively, perhaps because these authors were so well known, but Lydgate's author, Guido delle Colonne, is not mentioned.

Also visible as an agent in the production of translations is the all-important English commissioner or patron. By naming him or her in the incipit, Pynson is complimenting the person in question, implicitly expressing hope for another commission, but also authorising translation as a worthy enterprise. However, this inevitably results in a cultural shift, domesticating the foreign work by moving it into the English cultural scene. In the incipit, *Here begynneth a lytell cronycle translated out of frenche into englysshe [and] inprynted at the cost [and] charge of Rycharde Pynson, by the com[m]aundement of the ryght high and mighty prince, Edward duke of Buckingham, yerle of Gloucestre, Staffarde, and of Northampton*, Pynson names himself as printer and financier, and Buckingham as commissioner; they replace the author, *frere Haycon, seigneur du Cort, cousin germain du roi Darmenie*, named in the French title. Note that this domestication of the title also reveals a degree of one-upmanship: the English commissioner's titles, 'high and mighty prince'

and 'earl', outweigh the foreign author's 'lord' and 'first cousin of the king'. Buckingham, not insignificantly, was also the king's brother, not his 'close cousin'. Another 'hye and mighty prince, Thomas duke of Northfolke', commissioned *The lyfe of the glorious martyr saynt George and The famous cronycle of the warre, which the romayns had against Iurgurth*. Pynson produced Mancinus's *The myrrour of good maners, con[n]teynyng the .iiii. vertues, called cardynall* 'at the desyre of syr Gyles Alyngton knyght', and Froissart's *Cronycles of Englande, Fraunce, Spayne* ... for 'our most highe redoubtedd souerayne lorde kyng Henry the eyght, kyng of Englande and of Fraunce and high defender of the Christen fayth'. Although naming these aristocrats reflects favourably on Pynson and is of commercial value to him, it also confers authority and prestige on the act of translating and on the translations themselves.

The incipits also offer information on several subjects. Two mention the source language, but far more state the work was a translation into English. No doubt this was to reach out to the potential monolingual buyer and thereby increase the market; however, it also gave the translated work visibility and value while not eclipsing its foreign origin. Some incipits also contain generic information, which many titologists identify as one of the functions of the title. Thus *Les fleurs des hystoires de la terre Dorient* and the *Bellum Jugurthinum* both become 'chronicles'. The incipit introducing the above-mentioned Mancinus translation calls it a 'treatyse', rather than a 'libellum' (little book), which raises the status of the vernacular version a few notches above that of its normally more prestigious Latin version. This enhancement is reinforced by adding the metaphor, 'myrrour', which as Graces says, was used for titles of moral treatises and other 'serious' works. A similar strategy had been employed by Caxton, again for its enhancing effect, in the incipit introducing the two editions of his translation of *L'art de bien mourir*, although none of his possible pre-1490 French source texts had used the word 'traité' in its title. Pynson kept the incipit unchanged: *Here begynneth a lityll treatyse short and abrydgyd spekyng of the art and crafte to knowe well to dye*.

Finally, four incipits offer explicative information, again one of the traditional functions of the title. It is no coincidence that three concern translations from Latin into English, aimed primarily at an 'unlettered' readership. Barclay, or Pynson, explains Sallust's 'bellum Jugurthinum': a 'warre, which the romayns had agayst Iurgurth vsurper of the kyngdome of Numidy'. Lydgate's reader is given information not needed by the 'lettered' who read Guido delle Colonne's history: *Here begynneth the Troye*

boke (...) the whiche speketh fyrste/Howe the kynge of Thessalye named Pelleus had all his men slayne by dyuynne punycyon. And how thorough his prayer he had other agayne. A domesticating strategy, and one that incites patriotism, is employed in the incipit introducing the translation of Mantuan's work on various saints, including 'S. Georgio': *Here begynneth the lyfe of the glorious martyr saynt George, patrone of the royaulme of Englonde.* It enhances the hero by elevating him to the rank of martyr and relates him to an English readership by describing him as their patron saint. Yet another example appeals to English patriotism through evoking past glories. The incipit prefacing Laurent de Premierfaict's French translation of Boccaccio's *De casibus illustrium virorum*, which served as Lydgate's source text, referred to 'nobles hommes et femmes'. The gender distinction is maintained in the English title, '*Here begynneth the boke calledde Iohn bochas decryuing the falle of princis princesses*', which then becomes far more informative than its original. The addition, '*begynnyng at Adam and Eue, and endyng with kyng Johan of Fraunce, taken prisoner at Poyters by prince Edward*', makes the scope of the work clear, but also reminds the English reader of Edward's victory over the French. The changes demonstrate how informative incipits can also effect a cultural shift in order to appeal to a new readership.

The types of change that take place in Pynson's translated incipits also occur in his translated titles. References to the author occur in a little less than one third of the corpus and in each case they featured in the source text title. One, *A copy of the letters, wherin ... king Henry the eight made answeare vnto a certayne letter of M. Luther*, adds '*and also the copy of the foresaid Luthers letter*', while demonstrating several small changes designed to appeal to an exclusively English readership. In the Latin, Henry is 'invictissimus princeps' ('a most invincible prince'), but in English becomes 'the most redouted and mighty prince'; his Latin title is simply 'rex' ('king'), extended to 'our souerayne lorde kyng', with the possessive adjective making the title inclusive, drawing the reader into the world of the translated text. Thus a seemingly fairly straightforward translation in fact contains two calculated departures from the original, fulfilling the titular functions of supplying information about the work and appealing to and influencing the response of a potential readership. A similar domesticating strategy is apparent in the entitling of a bilingual Latin-English work in 1522. William Lily's original Latin poem, published in a verse collection one year earlier, bore the title, 'Divo Carolo Imp. semper Augusto Guil. Lillii Acclamatio', but this now disappears. The English translation, however, is entitled: *Of the*

tryu[m]phe and the v[er]ses that Charles the emperour & the most myghty redouted kyng of England, Henry the .viii. were saluted with, passyng through London. This might well be usefully explicit and appealingly patriotic, but it does not translate the Latin original title, which mentioned only the Emperor. Clearly the change was dictated by the switch from an elite, Latin-literate European readership to a less educated English one. At the same time, though, the new title relates far more explicitly to the content of the work, which describes an event in which both Charles and Henry participated.

Translators are a little less visible in the titles than in the incipits as, indeed, is the identification of the work as a translation. Named translators are Barclay in the title of his *The Shyp of folys of the worlde* and Atkinson in the title of the *Imtacyon and folowyng of ... cryste*, both being described by their status: Barclay is ‘Preste: and at that tyme Chaplen in the sayde Colege’ and Atkinson is ‘doctor of diuinitie’. Thomas Wyatt is identified in *Tho. Wyatis translatyon of Plutarckes boke, of the quyete of mynde*. Only five titles inform the reader that the work is a translation but four mention both the source and target languages: *The Shyp of folys*, *Articles of the popes Bulle*, *The sayinges or prouerbes of king Salomon*, and the *Imtacyon ... of cryste*. The title of Beaufort’s other translation, *The Mirroure of golde for the synfull soule*, closely renders that of her source text but appropriately modifies the languages involved: ‘translate a paris le latin en francoys’ becomes ‘translated into frensshe and nowe of late in to Englysshe’, specifically mentioning the commercially valuable recentness of the translation.

* * *

Our second printer, John Wolfe, produced books in a prodigious, and at times notorious, manner in his fourteen years as an active printer and eight years as a bookseller (1579–1601).²² His published translations number 139 and, unsurprisingly, demonstrate a far wider variety of subject matter than those printed by Pynson. He printed Italian books in their original language, but also in bilingual—and one even trilingual—editions, and in English translation. Until 1600, he was also the first and foremost English printer of both domestic and foreign news items, of which one third are translations. In all, Wolfe printed 392 works, not 386 as recorded in Clifford Chalmers Huffman’s *Elizabethan Impressions: John Wolfe and His Press*.²³ Based on this figure, translation accounts for almost 36 per cent of his total print production, which is far higher than the 22 per cent average

for all printers in a similar period, 1571–98, as recorded by Warren Boutcher.²⁴ Despite this, Wolfe's translation output still begs attention. One place to start is with the titles that he, his translators, and possibly his print-shop employees, chose. Given the large size of the corpus, we shall address some particular questions rather than attempting any detailed analysis. Do any changes result in a greater visibility for the translator and translation than for the author and source text? Are any modifications made to accommodate the title to the new potential readership, and if so what are they? Does the type of title shift from, say, brief to narrative, synoptic or informative? Does the translated title perform a hermeneutic function? In the case of translated news items, does the title confirm the current and credible nature of the translation, crucial to news reporting?

Wolfe's translated titles demonstrate reticence with regard to source-text titles (mentioned in only 23 per cent of the corpus), although praise of the work is often forthcoming in what is obviously a marketing strategy, since in most cases it is not found in the original titles. The announcement that the work is 'translated', 'turned into English', or 'Englished' is far more prevalent, being stated in 74 per cent of the titles, while half the titles mention both the source and target languages. The frequently added adverbs 'faithfully', 'now', and 'newly' attest to the quality and recentness of the translation in not a few cases; both of course were selling points.²⁵ One title, *Antisixtus. An oration of Pope Sixtus the fift*, even claims, unlike its original, it will expose 'things ... which neuer yet came to light before'; another, *A discourse vpon the present state of France*, has 'now newly corrected' by the translator. An Italian translation of a Spanish travel account, *L'historia del gran regno della China*, adds '*et poi fatta vulgare da Francesco Auanzi cittadino Vinetiano. Stampata la terza volta, & molto più dell'altre emendata*' ('and then turned into the vernacular by Francesco Avanzi, citizen of Venice. Edited for a third time and far more emended than the other [editions]').

In the corpus of sixty-three general works, Wolfe includes the name of the author in 42 per cent of the titles, but allots praise to only two. John Leland, simple 'Antiquario autore' ('antiquarian author') in the 1544 *Assertio inçlytissimi Arthuri*, becomes 'the learned English Antiquarie of worthy memory' in the 1582 translation. Forty years might well have dimmed his reputation, necessitating a reminder. Pliny, in the French translation of the *Naturalis historia* that served as the intermediary source text, was simply 'Pline' but in the English is described as '*that excellent naturall historiographer Plinie*'. Translators, on the other hand, are very

visible, being named in 68 per cent of the titles (as compared with Pynson's 38 per cent), identified almost equally by full names or initials. The latter not only functioned as abbreviated names, but also as a means to serve as a modest—and sometimes the only—marker of authorial identity.²⁶ However, they do not denote any particular feelings of modesty or inadequacy on the part of the translator vis-à-vis the original author and text, as might be thought. Rather, like both naming and anonymity, they mediate and shape the relationship between translator, printer, and collaborators on the one hand, and the reader on the other.²⁷ Moreover, twelve of the eighteen sets of initials in Wolfe's titles are identifiable through information provided by the translator in prefatorial paratexts such as signed dedications (Robert Vaux in *Two common-places taken out of Andreas Hyperius*, Robert Ashley in *A comparison of the English and Spanish Nation*, and Richard Robinson in *The auncient order, societie (...) of Prince Arthure*), titles of dedications (James Bellot's *The book of thrift* and Adrian Poyntz's *The treasvre of the soule*), or other liminary materials such as the acrostic poem in John Ludham's *A special treatise of Gods providence*. Also, of course, some translators such as Edward Aggas, who worked for Wolfe, were so well known that their initials would be easily identifiable.

One feature of translated titles, explication, is exploited in various ways by Wolfe. A simple form is seen, for example, in the translation of *De Henricii Tertii morte sermo* as *An oration. vppon the death of the late French King, Henrie the third*, where the English title specifies which Henry. However, it often occurs in more complex form in titles of vernacular translations of Latin works, where the reader cannot be assumed to have sufficient familiarity with the subject of the work. For example, Thomas Watson's *Amyntas Thomae Watsoni Londiniensis I. V. Studiosi* becomes *The lamentations of Amyntas for the death of Phillis, paraphrastically translated out of Latine into English hexameters by Abraham Fraunce*, explaining to the non-Latin literate reader the reason for Amyntas's tears. Yet this example also demonstrates how, in Maclean's terms, a title can be both inclusive and exclusive: the explication would have appealed to a wide audience whereas the references to the translating method employed (unusual in a sixteenth-century translated title) and to the poetic metre (a much debated subject in Latin verse translation at the time) would have interested only an elite readership. Explication was also sometimes necessary for metaphoric titles. Jorge Costilla's very short *Spill de la vida religiosa* is translated by the equally short *The treasvre of the soule*, although the mirror metaphor ('spill') has been changed. However, there follows a

long explanation that relates to the content of the work: *Wherein we are taught how in dying to Sin, we may attaine to the perfect loue of God, and our neighbour, and consequently vnto true blessedness and Saluation*. Finally, explication could reinforce a point or heighten the impact of a title, especially in the case of religious polemic texts. For example, Pierre Boquin's *Assertio veteris ac veri Christianismi, adversus nouum et fictum Iesuitismum seu Societatem Iesu* starts out by being closely translated: *A Defence of the Olde, and True profession of Christianitie, against the new, and counterfaite secte of Jesuites*. The English then adds the author's name, birthplace, and profession, as well as the translator's initials and a strongly-worded explication of why the Jesuits are 'counterfeit' and how this 'defence' will prove it: *Whereby maye bee pereciued, howe falslye the Iesuites vsurpe the name of Jesus, and how farre off they are, from the thing signified thereby, and what their profession, and purpose is in truth: otherwise then they beare the worlde in hande*.

Some of Wolfe's translated titles depart from their originals in different ways, changing semantic content and even perspective. One of Protestantism's most infamous political tracts was *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*, whose title attributes it to 'Iunius Brutus', a pseudonym for Hubert Languet, although Philippe Mornay Du Plessis is now often thought to be the author. In 1588, Part 4 was translated by 'H.P.' and published as a stand-alone text. Its Latin title asked 'aut debeant vicini Principes auxilium ferre aliorum Principum subditis, religionis purae causa afflictus, aut manifesta tyrannide oppressis' ('whether neighbouring princes should send aid when the subjects of other princes are either afflicted on account of the true religion or oppressed by obvious tyranny'). This was rendered as: *A short Apologie for Christian Souldiers: wherein is contained how, that we ought both to propagate, and also if neede require, to defende by force of armes, the Catholike Church of Christ, against the tyrannie of Antichrist and his adherentes: penned by Stephanus Iunius Brutus, and translated into English by H. P. for the benefite of the resolution of the Church of England, in the defence of the Gospel*. The title begins metaphorically, with St Paul's famous description of Christians as soldiers (Ephesians 6:11–17), but then explains the thrust of the work, which differs from that of the original. The Latin addresses the general question of aiding foreign princes and nations suffering religious and secular oppression. The English mentions only religious tyranny and domesticates the title by narrowing its focus to members of the Church of England, which at the time called itself 'Catholic'; it then states the purpose of the translation, to benefit that church in defending

the Gospel. It also explicitly targets the Antichrist, the Roman Catholic Church, as the perpetrator of the religious oppression, whereas the Latin ‘manifesta tyrannide’ is vague. Finally, the change in tone, from interrogative to declamatory, reinforced by the modal ‘ought’ for the subjunctive ‘debeant’, renders the text more authoritative. For a potential English readership, such changes made the title more potent and relevant and, furthermore, rendered this notoriously anti-monarchist work more acceptable in a country ruled by a queen.²⁸

Transformative changes can be seen in Wolfe’s secular texts, too. Leland’s 1544 *Assertio inclytissimi Arturij regis Britanniae Ioanne Lelando Antiquario Autore* becomes a long narrative title in 1588: *A Learned and True Assertion of the original Life, Actes, and death of the most Noble, Valiant and Renoumed Prince Arthure, King of great Brittain. Who succeeding his father, Vther Pendragon, and right nobly gouerning this Land and sixe and twentie yeares, then dyed of a mortall wound receyued in battell, together with victory ouer his enemies. As appeareth Cap. 9. And was buried at Glastenbery, Cap. 12. An. 543. Collected and written of late yeares in latin by the learned English Antiquarie of worthy memory Iohn Leyland. Newly translated into English by Richard Robinson citizen of London.* At a time of growing scepticism concerning the Arthurian myth, the title emphasises the veracity of the account by adding ‘learned and true’ to the ‘assertio’ of the original title, providing chapter references to a work that recounts Arthur’s death and burial, and signalling the events of Arthur’s life chronologically. It also highlights his pedigree and prowess, important given the Elizabethan popularisation of the myth of a Tudor dynasty stretching back even to Arthur, a fact certainly not ignored by either Robinson or Wolfe. The title thus shifts from being simply denotative, announcing the subject of the work, to being narrative and strongly persuasive. It emphasises the subject’s significance and veracity, the author’s worthiness, the translator’s prestigious social standing, and the fact that the work is ‘newly translated’. These, of course, constituted selling points, but the title as a whole also acted as a ‘threshold’, pointing the reader forward to the contents of the work, of which it constitutes an integral part.

Another Arthurian title fulfils a slightly different function. The *Deuise des armes des Cheualiers de la Table ronde, lesquels estoient du tresrenommé & vertueux Artus, Roy de la Grande Bretagne. Avec la designation de leurs Armoiries* becomes *The ancient Order, Societie, and Unitie Laudable, of Prince Arthure, and his knightly Armory of the Round Table. With a Threefold Assertion frendly in fauour and furtherance of English Archery*

at this day. Translated and collected by R.R. The English switches the praise of Arthur as renowned and valorous to the order he established, emphasizing its ancient and unified nature. Why? The translation, tellingly, is dedicated to members of the Society of English Archery and contains material not found in the French—a dedication and sections recounting Arthur's continued flourishing reputation, all of which remind the dedicatees of their ancient pedigree and the 'laudable unity' previously mentioned in the title. The sense of Englishness is reinforced by the title's Janus-like reference to the 'furtherance of English Archery', which hearkens back to the English archers' brilliant performance at the Battle of Crécy and reassures their descendants that such excellence will continue. The title is thus both appropriative and slightly misleading, reorientating the work to a new and very different group of readers, leading them into the material discussed in the work, and already shaping their reception of it.

Wolfe printed very few reissues and re-editions of translations, or even re-translations. One, however, is worthy of note on account of its changed title. On 20 November 1588 he entered a French pamphlet in the Stationers' Register entitled *Discours politique, tres-excellent pour le temps present: composé par vn gentil-homme François, contre ceulx de la Ligue, qui taschoyent de persuader au Roy, de rompre l'Alliance qu'il a avec l'Angleterre, & la confirmer avec l'Espagne*. On the same day, he entered Francesco Marquino's English translation that rendered the French title word for word: *A Politike Discourse most excellent for this time present: Composed by a French Gentleman against those of the League in France, which went about to perswade the king to breake his allyance with England, and to confirme it with Spaine*. It was published in 1589, the same year that Wolfe registered Robert Ashley's version, *A Comparison of the English and Spanish Nation: Composed by a French Gentleman, against those of the League, which went about to perswade the King to breake the Alliance with England, and to confirme it with Spaine. By occasion whereof, the nature of both Nations is lively decyphered. Faithfully translated, out of French, by R.A.* The new title specifically referred to the comparison of English and Spanish national characteristics, not only discussed in the work itself, but emphasised in Ashley's dedication and explained in the 'Translator's Note to the Reader': 'The former title of a Politike Discourse, because it seemed too Generall, I have changed into A Comparison betweene England and Spaine, which seems more neerely, & particularly to expresse the substance of the treatise' (A4^r). Interestingly, Marquino had also said in his 'Note to the

discrete and vertuous Reader' that his whole purpose was to make the differences between the English and Spanish known (A2^r). However, either he or Wolfe clearly preferred to keep the title close to its French original. The change reveals several facts: that in the early modern print trade, the concept of appropriateness of title to work did exist; that it was within the translator's power to choose or change titles, although presumably with the printer's approval; and that the purpose of titles was not solely commercial, although this title does contain two commercially inspired assertions—the account of the national characteristics is 'liuely decyphered' and the translation is 'faithfully' made.²⁹

Wolfe's incursion into the *querelle des femmes* was a work whose title demonstrates a different type of change. Alexandre de Pontaymeri's 1594 *Paradoxe apologique ou il est fidellement demonstré que la Femme est beaucoup plus parfaite que l'Homme en toute action de vertu* was translated five years later as *A Womans Woorth, defended against all the men in the world. Proouing them to be more perfect, excellent and absolute in all virtuous actions, then any man of what qualitie soeuer. Written by one that hath heard much, seene much, but knowes a great deale more*. While 'Paradoxe' holds pride of place in the French title by being placed first and suggests the contradiction and incongruity inherent in the position of women, the English title opens with the alliterative 'Womans woorth' that authoritatively announces the subject, but with no hint of paradox. Yet the hyperbole in the remainder of the title suggests a humorous approach. Whereas the French work is announced as being 'apologique', pointing out that in virtue a woman is far more perfect than man in general, in English the stronger 'defended' is used, woman is better than 'all the men in the world', indeed, 'more perfecte, excellent and absolute ... then any man of what qualitie soeuer'. The final sentence strikes a teasing note by playing with notions of anonymity in titles; the 'one' could refer to either author or translator since neither is named. However, this anonymity is compromised by the motto inscribed lower on the title-page, 'patere aut abstinere', which Anthony Munday 'borrowed' from a French printer and used elsewhere. Its meaning, 'suffer or desist', provides an ironic touch for a work debating the status of women and reinforces the title's teasing tone. This title thus goes beyond fulfilling a purely commercial function. It clearly presents the subject of the work and also points forward to a series of equally intriguing and playful paratexts (prefaces, dedications, laudatory poems), as well as to the work itself, of which it is indisputably an integral part.³⁰ It respects the tone of the original title, although its humour is

articulated in a slightly different way, and its hermeneutic function is obvious. Munday is more likely the title's creator than Wolfe, judging by its consistency of tone with the paratexts, the work as a whole, and his other playful publications.

Translating titles for news items posed different problems and followed different conventions. As Sara Barker says, 'the practitioners of translated news, the authors, printers and translators, operated in the shadows of the print world'. In her corpus of translated news items, over half were printed without authorial attribution, well over two thirds without the name or initials of the translator, and 64 per cent without any named or identifiable printer.³¹ Wolfe, who included his name in all his thirty-one translated news publications, was similarly reticent concerning authors but far more generous than other news printers in naming translators. He identified two fully and fourteen by their initials, bringing the total of named publications to 51 per cent. This practice was perhaps attributable to the fact that some, especially Edward Aggas, Richard Robinson, and Anthony Munday, were well known for their other translations. As with his general publications, translators are therefore far more visible than authors and in the majority of publications, this visibility is enhanced by statements that the item is a translation.

Two important aspects of translating news items emerge from Wolfe's titles: newness and credibility, both crucial to the genre. Eighteen of the thirty-one items contain the precise dates of the events being reported; sixteen record the same publication year for original and translation; two mark only a few months' difference. This testifies to a remarkable turn-around in the print-shop. The need to print quickly is even articulated in one title: *Whereunto is added as soone as it came to my hand since the first Impression, the true copie of a letter*. Credibility was achieved by having recourse to several strategies, some of which, according to Barker, concerned titles: mentioning the foreign publication by name, which gave the translation a 'veneer of accuracy', naming the original author and translator, which gave it 'solidity', and naming the original printer and place of printing, which added 'weight' to the English printer's 'claims of veracity'.³² Wolfe used all three strategies. However, in at least half his titles he also included set 'authorising' phrases that reinforced the validity of the translation in question: 'translated out of the coppie', 'published by authoritie', 'allowed by the magistrates', 'printed according to the copy from', followed by the name of the city or country. Almost all

also included the adverbs ‘truly’ and ‘faithfully’, reinforcing the translators’ much-needed credibility.

* * *

Thomas Harper was a London bookseller and printer from 1614 to 1650, during that time being employed in an administrative position at the King’s Printing House. He acquired printing materials only in 1628 but after purchasing Thomas Snodham’s press in 1630 became one of the city’s most prolific printers.³³ In the period 1612–40, he produced forty-three translations, which although proportionately fewer than Wolfe’s, represented a wider range of subjects that extended to medicine, philosophy, psalm translation, and romance. His titles also demonstrate a variety of types and translating strategies.

In terms of translation and translator visibility, Harper’s titles differ somewhat from Wolfe’s. While Wolfe names the source text in 23 per cent of his general titles, often with praise, Harper does so for only three works, and with neither emphasis nor praise. In *The tragedie of Alceste and Eliza*, the Italian title, *La Croce racquistata*, is simply woven into the statement that the work is a translation. In *Laus pediculi: or, An apologeticall speech* ..., the first two words are borrowed from the Latin title to introduce the English one, probably as a prestige marker to authorise the translation and attract readers. In *Musae querule, de regis in Scotiam Profectione. The Muses Complaint of the kings iourney to Scotland*, the full original title is used, but because it is a bilingual work.

In contrast, the identification of the work as a translation, together with the provision of source and target languages, is made in 73 per cent of the titles, as compared with Wolfe’s 74 per cent. The terms ‘translated’, ‘turned into’, ‘rendered’, ‘done into English’, and ‘Englished’ are all used, some with the usual accompanying adverbs denoting fidelity and newness, or in one case, *The charitable physition*, expressing the usefulness of the translation ‘for the benefit of the kingdome’. The authenticity of the translation is also sometimes emphasised. Thomas Hawkins’s *Unhappy Prosperity*... is ‘Translated out of the Originals’, Chapman’s *Whole works of Homer* is ‘translated according to the Greeke’. In both cases, the title makes clear that this translation has not been made from an intermediary one; however, in the case of the Homer, this also confers a certain prestige on the translator since few were able to translate directly from Greek. Other titles authorise the translations in question by mentioning royal or

religious approval, as in *All the French Psalm tunes with English words ... Perused and approved by judicious divines, both English and French*.

Harper names authors in 54 per cent of his titles, sometimes adding praise as a marketing strategy in the case of well-known ones, or describing their status if they were less known by the new English readership. For example, Susan Du Verger's *Admirable Events* identifies more fully the French 'Monsieur de Belley': 'The Right Reverend John Peter Camus, Bishop of Belley'. This also adds prestige and thereby commercial value to the translation and performs an added hermeneutic function, preparing readers for her praise of Camus in her dedication and address to the reader. Harper is nevertheless more generous in naming translators, who appear in 74 per cent of his titles. Like Wolfe, he uses their full names and initials in almost equal numbers and often includes their status. As well as the usual 'Gent' and 'Esquire', we find descriptions such as 'Researcher of Antiquities' for James Maxwell in *Admirable and notable phrophecies*, 'Doctor of the Lawes, and his Maiesties Professor in the Vniuersitie of Oxford' for John Budden in *A discourse for parents honour*, and 'of Magdelen Hall' for James Mabbe in *Christian policie*. Naming the translators affords them visibility, while describing their status constitutes a selling point but at the same time confers authority and prestige on both the translator and act of translating.

Harper offers a wide range of types of titles—denotative, informative, explicit, metaphorical, narrative—that demonstrate different translating strategies. Closely translated titles far outnumber those that diverge significantly from their originals. For example, Drexelius's *Gymnasium patientiae* retains its metaphorical title as *The school of patience*, adding only information about the languages and translator. A similar procedure is used for Nicolas Faret's *L'honneste homme ou l'art de plaire à la cour: Par le Sieur Faret*, which becomes *The honest man: or, The art to please in Court. Written in French by Sieur Faret*. Here, the only change is the mention of the source language, probably because Faret was not a well-known French author. Other examples demonstrate initiative on the part of the translator, or printer, in recreating a title. A story taken from Bracciolini's *Croce racquisitata. Poema Heroicá* has a four-line narrative title in the original, replaced in the English by a short generic label, *The tragedie of Alceste and Eliza*, followed by several informational components directed towards a new English readership: *As it is found in Italian, in La Croce racquisitata. Collected, and translated into English, in the same verse, and number, By Fr. Br. Gent. At the request of the right virtuous lady, Lady Anne*

Wingfield, wife unto that noble Knight, Sir Anthony Wingfield The references to the Italian and the translating method chosen—to respect the original versification—speak to the quality of the translation and give it authority, while naming the commissioner and her ‘noble’ husband enhances its commercial value by conferring prestige.

A second re-recreated title also concerns an excerpt taken out of a longer work. Vital d’Audiguier’s *Histoire tragi-comique de nostre temps. Sous les noms de Lysandre & de Caliste* contains the story of Minerva and Adraste, translated by William Barwick and published as a stand-alone work in 1638: *Love and valovr: Celebrated in the person of the Author, by the name of Adraste. Or, the divers affections of Minerva. One part of the unfained story of the true Lisander and Caliste. Translated out of the French by W.B.* The English title opens dramatically, in eye-catching mode, but at the same time encapsulates the subject of the story, Adraste’s love for Minerva, her love for Arnolphus and later suitors, and the various acts of valour recounted throughout the story. The title also identifies the work as a story within another ‘unfained’ story, therefore attesting to its authenticity, and is translated from French, thereby giving it a certain cachet in view of the popularity of French romances in mid-seventeenth-century England. Thus it announces the subject of the work, shapes the reader’s reception of the text, leads him or her into it, and places it within a literary tradition.

Harper often reissued translations published by other printers or produced copies of the same translation for different booksellers. The resulting titles demonstrate some variety in their treatment. One reissue is his 1632 fourth edition of the translation of Johann Gerhard’s succinctly entitled *Meditationes sacrae*. In Snodham’s first edition of 1611 it was translated into a long, metaphorically introduced *The Soules Watch: or, a Day-booke for the Demoute Soule ...* that then explained the contents and value of the work before identifying it as a translation and naming the translator, ‘Englished and familiarly dispersed by Rich. Bruch, minister of Gods word’. Harper must have found the work when he bought Snodham’s press and he kept the title intact, except for reducing the translator’s name to the abbreviated form, ‘R.B.’.

One translation that Harper printed and sold in his bookshop before making another copy for William Sheares was of Étienne Molinier’s third edition of *Les politiques chrestiennes: ou Tableau des Vertus Politiques considerees en l’Estat Chrestien. Divisé en trois livres: Reueu, corrigé, & augmenté du Panegyrique du Roy S. Louis, par E. Molinier, Tolosain, Prestre, &*

Docteur. Dedié a Monseigneur l'Illustrissime & Reverendissime Cardinal de la Valette, Archevesque de Tolose. The English registers a few changes: *A mirror for Christian states: or, a Table of Politicke Vertues considerable amongst Christians ... Translated into English, by William Tyrwhit, Sen. Esquire.* The popular mirror metaphor replaces the more formal 'tableau', 'Christian states' moves up to a more prominent position, and the virtues are described as 'politick' rather than 'Bibliquies', in an echo of 'les politiques chrestiennes'. Not a change of meaning but one of reordering, setting the text within the tradition of mirror works and thereby making it familiar but also emphasising its serious and reflective nature. The remainder of the title is closely translated, although the 'augmented' is rather misleading since the panegyric to which the French refers is missing in the translation. The only additions are the identification of the work as a translation and the name of the translator. In William Sheares's copy, however, the title is very different: *Essayes: or, Morall and politicall discourses. Written by E. Molinier of Tolose Priest* It is briefer and secular, since the references to Christianity have disappeared; the only religious allusions are to the author's and dedicatee's status as clerics; Molinier has been shorn of his doctorate; and no mention is made of either translation or translator. Since the first copy was sold by Harper himself, either he or Tyrwhit could have chosen the title; in the case of the second, either Harper or Sheares probably effected the changes. Interestingly, while the former relates to the work, the latter does not. Perhaps commercial concerns took over, with Sheares wishing to market his copy as a 'new' work.

In 1632, Harper produced three copies of a translation for two different booksellers. It was a rendering of *Tratado de república y policía cristiana para reyes y principes y para los que en el gouierno tienen sus vezes. Compuesto por Fray Iuan de Santa Maria, Religioso.* The English title in Richard Collins's first copy and in Edward Blount's resemble each other and the Spanish very closely: *Christian policie: or, The Christian commonwealth. Published for the good of Kings, and Princes, and such as are in authoritie vnder them, and trusted with State Affaires. Written in Spanish, and translated into English.* However, Blount's copy adds as beneficiaries 'all true hearted subjects', widening the scope of the work to include everyone, not simply those in power. Both titles highlight the religious nature of the work by placing 'Christian policie' first, thus setting it off from the rest of the title, and by repeating it straight after. Similarly, they both emphasise the work's value by translating 'para' as the more explicit 'Published for the good of'. Each mentions the languages involved but

omits the author's and translator's names. The title of Collins's second copy was very different from both these and the Spanish: *Policie vnveiled: wherein may be learned the Order of true Policie in Kingdomes, and Common-wealths: the Matters of Justice, and Government: the Addresses, Maxims, and Reasons of State: the Science of governing well a People: And where the Subject may learne true obedience unto their Kings, Princes, and Soveraignes....* The first two words catch the eye since they suggest a mystery now being disclosed to the potential reader for the first time, always a selling point. The title is resolutely secular, omitting all references to a Christian context; it emphasises matters of state and governance and adds praise for teaching civic obedience, not mentioned in the Spanish. It also adopts a synoptic form listing the contents. Finally, it identifies James Mabb as the translator. This example, then, represents a new type of title, presents a different, secular perspective, and gives visibility to the translator. The one constant in the three titles is that the translation is also clearly made visible. Again, it is virtually impossible to know who chose the titles for these various copies and why Collins sold two copies with different ones.

* * *

In this discussion of some translated titles published by three printers over a century and a half, we have observed a variety of types, functions, and translating strategies. With regard to the functions and features of titles as stipulated by titologists and book historians, they for the most part relate to the subject of the work, act as a framing device, lead the reader into the text, at the same time shape his or her response to it, and serve the printer's commercial ends by using certain marketing strategies to attract potential buyers. The ambiguity surrounding their authorship remains, since in only a few cases is it made clear, and then in prefatorial materials rather than in the title itself. In short, early modern titles were not simply important yet rather limited paratextual features, as has sometimes been claimed. As Matthew Day says of running titles, they did not only serve purely utilitarian purposes, and could play an interpretive role. Nor should they be studied only for their bibliographical significance, for they also tell us about the 'hermeneutics of the paratext'.³⁴

The translated title had two further roles to play, bringing a new work to a new readership in a new linguistic and socio-cultural context, and affording visibility to the translator and translation as well as—and very

often in place of—the author and source text. In this, they certainly fulfilled the function of intertextuality mentioned by Karrer and Maclean, transferring cultural capital, exchanging the connotative values of one culture for another. In answer to the questions posed at the beginning of this essay, they also established a relationship between source and target text, between author and translator, and, in so doing often modified the original title for cultural, commercial, ideological, and practical purposes, employing specific translating strategies in order to do so. Lastly, they often reveal what Anne Coldiron calls ‘visible alterities’, in that they signal their presence within the work itself. The ‘marks’ of such visibility, she says, invite the reader to engage with the foreign and ‘honour’ both translation and translator.³⁵ These marks can occupy no more visible a place than in the title, which, as we have demonstrated, they do in the majority of translations in our corpus. Indeed, as ‘standard bearers’, these translated titles arouse the reader’s interest and shape his or her response to a foreign work in ways that go far beyond mere marketing.

NOTES

1. Colin Symes, ‘You Can’t Judge a Book by its Cover: The Aesthetics of Titles and Other Epitextual Devices’, *The Journal of Aesthetic Education*, 26.3 (1992), 17–26 (20).
2. See for example Guyda Armstrong, ‘Paratexts and their Functions in Seventeenth-Century English Decameron’, *Modern Language Review*, 102.1 (2007), 40–57 and Brenda M. Hosington, “‘If the Past is a Foreign Country’: Neo-Latin Histories, their Paratexts, and English Cultural Translation”, *The Canadian Review of Comparative Literature/Revue Canadienne de Littérature Comparée*, 41.4 (2014), 432–55.
3. This figure is taken from *The Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Online Catalogue of Translations in Britain 1473–1640*, edited by Brenda M. Hosington et al., online: <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/rcc>, accessed 16 September 2017.
4. See Claude Duchet, ‘*La Fille abandonnée* et *La Bête humaine*, éléments de titrologie romanesque’, *Littérature*, 12.4 (1973), 49–73; Leo H. Hoek, *La marque du titre* (Paris: Mouton, 1981); Charles Grivel, *Production de l’intérêt romanesque: un état du texte* (Paris: Mouton, 1973); John Hollander, “‘Haddock’s Eyes’: A Note on the Theory of Titles”, in *Vision and Resonances: Two Senses of Poetic Form*, 2nd edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 212–26; Alistair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982),

- pp. 92–8; Laurence Lerner, ‘Titles and Timelessness’, in *Reconstructing Literature*, edited by Laurence Lerner (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 179–204.
5. Harry Levin, ‘The Title as a Literary Genre’, *The Modern Language Review*, 72.4 (1977), xxiii–xxxvi (xxxvi).
 6. Wolfgang Karrer, ‘Titles and Mottoes as Intertextual Devices’, in *Intertextuality*, edited by Heinrich F. Plett (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1991), pp. 122–34.
 7. Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin and Richard Macksey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 89–93.
 8. Marie Maclean, ‘Pretexts and Paratexts: The Art of the Peripheral’, *New Literary Theory*, 22.2 (1991), 273–9.
 9. The terms are Lawrence Venuti’s, in *The Translator’s Invisibility: A History of Translation*, 2nd edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 1–30, 53–8. See more generally Friedrich Schleiermacher, ‘On the Different Methods of Translating’, trans. André Lefevere, in *Translating Literature: The German Tradition from Luther to Rosenzweig*, edited by André Lefevere (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1977), pp. 67–89; Walter Benjamin, ‘The Translator’s Task’, trans. S. Rendall, in *Walter Benjamin’s Essay on Translation: Critical Translations*, edited by Alexis Nouss, *TTR*, 10.2 (1977), 151–65; Antoine Berman, ‘La traduction et la lettre, ou l’auberge du lointain’, in *Les Tours de Babel: Essais sur la traduction*, edited by G. Granel (Mauvezin: Trans-Europ-Repress, 1985), pp. 31–50.
 10. Maclean, ‘Pretexts and Paratexts’, 275–76.
 11. Christiane Nord, ‘Text-Functions in a Translation: Titles and Headings as a Case in Point’, *Target*, 7.2 (1995), 261–84.
 12. Maurizio Viezzi, ‘Titles and Translation’, in *Haasteena, Perspektivet som utmaning, Point of view as challenge, Perspektivitet als Herausforderung. VAKKI-symposium XXXIII 7.–8.2.2013*, edited by M. Eronen and M. Rodi-Risberg (Vaasa, Finland: VAKKI Publications, 2013), Vol. 2, pp. 374–84.
 13. See for example Margery Corbett and R. W. Lightbrown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England 1550–1660* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979); Martha W. Driver, *The Image in Print: Book Illustration in Late Medieval England and its Sources* (London: The British Library, 2004), pp. 77–114; Margaret M. Smith, *The Title-Page: Its Early Development 1460–1510* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2001); Paul Voss, ‘Books for Sale: Advertising and Patronage in Late Elizabethan England’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 29.3 (1998), 733–56. Matthew Day, in an important and innovative discussion of running titles, makes a similar complaint in (‘“Intended to Offenders”: The Running Titles of Early

- Modern Books', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, edited by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 34–47).
14. Herbert Grabes, *The Mutable Glass: Mirror Imagery in Titles and Texts of the Middle Ages and English Renaissance*, trans. Gordon Collier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
 15. Warren Boutcher, 'From Cultural Translation to Cultures of Translations', in *The Culture of Translation in Early Modern England and France, 1500–1660*, edited by Tania Demetriou and Rowan Tomlinson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 22–40 (24–6).
 16. Eleanor F. Shevlin, "'To Reconcile Book and Title, and Make 'em Kin to One Another': The Evolution of the Title's Contractual Functions', *Book History*, 21.1 (1999), 42–77.
 17. Michael Saenger, *The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 39–40. Ironically, Saenger devotes only a few short paragraphs to titles, while he never mentions them in his section on translations.
 18. Victoria Gibbons, 'Towards a Poetics of Titles: The Prehistory', PhD Thesis, Cardiff University, 2010.
 19. Ceri Sullivan, 'Disposable Elements? Indications of Genre in Early Modern Titles', *The Modern Language Review*, 102.3 (2007), 641–53.
 20. Sullivan, 'Disposable Elements?', p. 650. In fact, William London also defines the function and purpose of long titles: '([they] should be the scope of each Book in short)' and they are to assist and encourage the 'timorous' reader, for 'a full Title tells us as the purport and intent of the Books', *Catalogue of the most vendible books in England* (London, 1657), sigs. C1^{r-v}.
 21. Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*; Anne E. B. Coldiron, 'Visibility Now: Historicizing Foreign Presences in Translation', *Translation Studies*, 5.2 (2012), 189–200.
 22. Although after 1593 Wolfe passed most of his printing to Robert Bourne and his print material to John Windet and Adam Islip, his name remained on the imprints until 1601, the year of his death. Given the collaborative nature of early book production, he is likely to have continued to have some input in the matter of titles.
 23. Clifford Chalmers Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions: John Wolfe and His Press* (New York: AMS Press, 1988), Appendix II, 'John Wolfe: A Short-Title Checklist', pp. 133–61. Huffman's list omits six translations recorded in the *Renaissance Crossroads Catalogue* and fails to identify very many works as translations.
 24. Boutcher, 'From Cultural Translation to Cultures of Translation'.
 25. On this question see Jonathan R. Olson, "'Newly Amended and Much Enlarged": Claims of Novelty and Enlargement on the Title Pages of

- Reprints in the Early Modern English Print Trade', *History of European Ideas*, 42.5 (2016), 618–28. Many of his observations hold true for both first editions and reprints of translations.
26. See Marcy L. North, *The Anonymous Renaissance: Cultures of Discretion in Tudor-Stuart England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp. 67–75.
 27. Andrea Rizzi and John Griffith claim that translation can constitute 'a crucial place' for such mediation to be studied, given its collaborative nature ('The Renaissance of Anonymity', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 69 (2016), 200–12).
 28. Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions*, pp. 76–7.
 29. The original and its translations, but not their titles, are discussed by Huffman in *Elizabethan Impressions*, pp. 80–2.
 30. For a discussion of the work and its paratexts, see Brenda M. Hosington, 'Giovanni Bruto, Alexandre de Pontaymeri and the Tasso Cousins Cross the Channel: The Transforming Power of Translation and Paratext in the *querelle des femmes*', in *"Fideli, diligenti, chiari e dotti": Traduttori e traduzione nel Rinascimento*, edited by Elisa Gregori (Padua: CLEUPSC, 2016), pp. 259–76.
 31. S. K. Barker, "'Newes lately come": European News Books in English Translation', in *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473–1640*, edited by S. K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 227–44 (238).
 32. Barker, "'Newes lately come'", p. 240.
 33. Harper has received little attention since Henry Plomer's entry in his *Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London: The Bibliographical Society/Blades, East & Blades, 1907). For brief notices, see Matteo A. Pangallo, 'Correction to Plomer's Biography of Thomas Harper', *Notes and Queries*, 56 (2009), 203–5 and 'Thomas Harper' (blog published November 2012), and Graham Rees and Maria Wakely, 'Thomas Harper', *The King's Printer Project* (2000–9), online: <http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/kingsprinter>, accessed 22 May 2017.
 34. Day, "'Intended to Offenders'", pp. 34 and 47.
 35. Coldiron, 'Visibility Now', pp. 198–9.



Spain in Translation: Peritextual Representations of Cultural Difference, 1614–1625

Joyce Boro

Between 1558 and 1642 a total of 324 texts were translated from Spanish into English, averaging approximately 3.8 texts per year.¹ The most intense period of translation occurred from 1614 to 1625, when the rate of translation more than doubled: during these years, ninety-nine Spanish texts were translated into English, a median of 8.2 texts per year.² While a marked increase in translation is observable throughout the period 1614–25, the average frequency of translation obscures the importance of the year 1623 in this Anglo-Spanish narrative. Without a doubt, 1623 is *the* year of Spanish to English translation: twenty texts, that is, about 20 per cent of the decade's translations were printed in this single year.³ Moreover, this date range, 1614–25, corresponds to a significant moment in Anglo-Spanish relations: the period of negotiations of the Spanish Match, the proposed marriage between Maria Anna, the daughter of King Philip of Spain, and Prince Charles, the son of King James of England. Likewise, 1623 not only marks a peak in Spanish to English translation,

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but it also heralds the collapse in marriage discussions which followed Prince Charles's dramatic, yet ill-advised and unsuccessful, voyage to Spain to woo the Spanish princess Maria Anna. In this essay, I argue that this coinciding of Anglo-Spanish textual and political relations is not accidental, but that the developments of the Spanish Match account for the rise in Spanish translations during the decade.

By examining the paratextual material in the translations from Spanish into English printed during this peak decade of cultural exchange, this chapter investigates the representation of Spain in late Jacobean England. Particular emphasis is placed on title-pages, prefaces, dedicatory epistles, printed marginal glosses, and woodcut illustrations, as these peritextual materials frame the translations, influencing how readers encounter the texts.⁴ I will first provide a brief overview of Anglo-Spanish relations in the period 1614–25. Then, turning to the translations themselves, I begin by quantifying how many of the texts explicitly or implicitly make their Spanish origins known to their readers, what strategies they employ in order to announce or obscure their Spanishness, and how Spain is represented in these contexts. After analysing the general tendencies in the corpus as a whole, I categorise the translations according to genre: religion, current events, literature, education, travel/navigation, and history. Arranging the texts by genre helps clarify why texts may or may not want to be recognised as Spanish translations; what the implications may be of divulging (or not) such information; what types of texts comment on Anglo-Spanish relations; what aspects of Anglo-Spanish relations are discussed in these texts; and how extensive or brief the discussions are. In short, categorising the texts by genre permits me to establish connections between types of texts and modes of representation of cultural, religious, ethnic, and political difference, while recognising the idiosyncratic qualities of each text.

Whereas I acknowledge that Renaissance English translation has an appropriative quality, invariably bringing texts ideologically closer to the target culture, my methodology equally acknowledges that a spectrum of cultural approaches to foreignness and an uneasiness with trans-linguistic appropriation underlie acts of translation. Thus, as Anne Coldiron explains, 'the dominant appropriative direction of printed translations is not the unvexed thing we might now imagine, despite its good fit with larger Renaissance imperatives such as literary nation-building, *imitatio*, *aemulatio*, or the *translatio studii*'. Indeed, 'The elisions of alterity inherent in this appropriative direction mean that Renaissance English translation was

loaded with foreign residues and fraught with anxieties and ambivalences.⁵ Translations are privileged spaces of intra-linguistic, transnational dialogue. My exploration of this corpus of Spanish-to-English translations will highlight how texts across a wide array of genres participate, in varying ways and with varying attitudes towards alterity, in an important domestic conversation about English foreign policy and religious doctrine, speaking to the highly powerful and politicised nature of Renaissance English translation.

The early modern period represents an era of tension between Spain and England, with especially strained feelings mounting at pivotal moments such as Mary's union with Philip; Spanish reactions to the execution of English Catholics; hostilities culminating in the 1588 Armada; piracy, privateering, and the feud for wealth and power in the New World; the Thirty Years War; and, of course, the failed Spanish Match. These incidents affected the reception of Spanish texts in surprising ways. As a Catholic super-power, Spain posed significant political and ideological threats to England. English racial bigotry impacted upon the perception of Spaniards, who were feared not only for their Catholicism, but also for their supposed Moorish or Jewish heritage. Essential to the national imagination and to the self-construction of Englishness was a differentiation from Catholic continental Europe and a perception of England as a strong, unique Protestant nation. Yet, paradoxically, despite the abundance of documented hostility towards Spain, readers continued to enjoy Spanish literature throughout the period and steadily increasing numbers sought to learn the language.⁶ As Barbara Fuchs concludes: 'The cultural fascination with Spain never waned, even when it was most inconvenient in military or religious terms.'⁷ In fact, mounting political and religious hostilities were often concomitant with heightened surges of interest in Spanish language and literature. For example, just as we see an increase in translations of Spanish texts alongside the negotiations of the Spanish Match, a similar rise is evidenced during the Anglo-Spanish wars of 1585–1604.⁸

In 1614 James began serious discussions with Philip for the marriage of Prince Charles and the Infanta Maria Anna. The negotiations would last for about ten years, culminating in failure. The reaction in England to the Spanish Match was mixed. Whereas the king's supporters recognised the political and economic advantages to be gained from such a dynastic union, the majority of the English population viewed the Match unfavourably, fearful of the consequences of having a Catholic, Spanish queen. Negative feelings towards the marriage escalated as the events of the

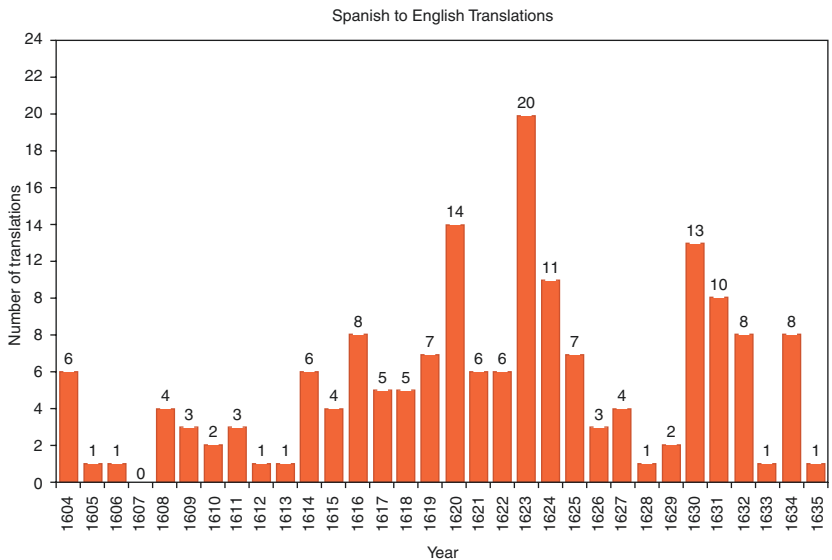
Thirty Years War intersected with and influenced public opinion even more strongly against Spain. For example, in 1620, when Elector Frederick and Elizabeth, King James's daughter, lost the Palatinate to Spain, even more English subjects, understandably, inclined towards war rather than dynastic union.⁹ Despite the reiteration of strong censorship legislation, the public spoke out against the Match: proclamations in 1620 and 1621 observe an increase in 'unreverent speech', 'lavish discourse and bold censure in matters of State'.¹⁰ Seditious speech proliferated, reaching a peak in 1623, when in response to myriad delays in the marriage negotiations, Prince Charles travelled to Spain incognito to court the princess.¹¹ Not only did Charles's journey to Spain make rapprochement with Spain seem a likely, terrifying prospect,¹² but also, eschewing court protocol, 'the visit transformed the cold and calculating machinations of early modern marriage diplomacy into something of a courtly love story'.¹³ Charles remained in Madrid for eight months, leaving the English population intrigued, anxious, and desperate for news.

In her analysis of the publications of 1623, Judith Simonds observes that during Charles's trip, 'the English public wanted to read anything—pamphlets, sermons, doggerel verse, straight news reporting—anything that commented on the affair', and, '[t]he printers did their best to fulfil the demand'.¹⁴ Indeed, Alexander Samson notes that 1623 witnessed a boom in Spanish language learning manuals and Spanish translations of materials for English recusants.¹⁵ Simonds detects an important shift in the publications' tone from 'a factual, rather subdued style' to 'more enthusiastic accounts' following Charles's return.¹⁶ Indeed, his homecoming fuelled what Thomas Cogswell characterised as 'one of the most impressive displays of popular emotion in the entire seventeenth century',¹⁷ including: fireworks, bonfires, ringing bells, the release of debtors from prison, the foundation of chapels, and the creation of celebratory music, verse, sermons, and dramatic performance.¹⁸ Jerzy Limon discusses the plays of 1623–4 as 'a part ... of a campaign of political propaganda, carried out on an unprecedented scale'.¹⁹ Similarly, Trudy Darby detects a proliferation of topical theatre in dialogue with the political developments during the playing season of 1623–4, which she refers to as 'a prolonged English anti-festival, the negative aspect of the Spanish festival in Madrid which had welcomed Charles the year before and which emerged as the political climate of James's Court turned against the Spanish Match and began to make criticism risky, but thinkable, particularly if Charles was portrayed in glowing terms'.²⁰ Indeed, the period was so 'vehemently,

even pathologically, anti-Spanish’,²¹ and Hispanophobic ‘implicit shared assumptions’ so governed the perception of Spain that ‘there was no need for [...] anyone [...] writing for public consumption at that moment, to labour the obvious. Popular response to the Prince’s return was premised on widespread antipathy to a Spanish match’.²²

While anti-Spanish sentiment peaked in 1623–4, this year stands at the apex of a period of steadily growing interest in Spain. This attentiveness was manifested, not only in sensational, topical texts, but also in the translation and adaptation of a host of Spanish materials. The whole decade leading up to 1623 witnessed a concentrated flurry of performances and publications of dramatic adaptations of Spanish literature for the English public stage, including solo or co-authored plays by Fletcher, Beaumont, Massinger, Field, Webster, Ford, Rowley, Middleton, and others.²³ Certainly, my statistical analysis of the number of Spanish texts translated into English in the early seventeenth century reveals a marked surge in the translations of Spanish materials into English from 1614 through 1625, its highest level occurring in 1623, as highlighted by Table 5.1. It shows that in the decade 1604–13 a total of twenty-six Spanish to English translations

Table 5.1 Spanish to English Translations 1604–1635



were published, averaging 2.6 texts per year; as previously stated, in 1614–25, there were ninety-nine translations, an annual median of 8.2 texts; the subsequent decade, 1626–35, boasts forty-one texts or an average of 4.1 texts per year.

Given the public perception of Spain as a hostile, Catholic threat, it is perhaps initially surprising to note that the strong majority of texts translated from Spanish in 1614–25 openly acknowledge their Spanish source. Thus, turning to our list of ninety-nine translations made from Spanish into English in the period, a total of eighty-two out of ninety-nine, that is 83 per cent, have paratexts that clearly indicate that they are Spanish translations.²⁴ Seventy-three translations explicitly name Spain as a textual origin on their title-pages. Others, such as *Don-Quichote* (STC 4916), *Newes from Mamora* (STC 17229), *Janua linguarum* (STC 14466), *A treasure of ancient adagies, and sententious proverbes* (STC 7174), *The contempt of the world* (STC 10541.7), and *Amadis of Gaule* (STC 541) provide the information in a dedicatory epistle; *The lives of saints* (STC 24732) does so in a section header; the information is in the colophon of *A true relation of the fleete* (STC 15571); and in *The Convenience of the Two Catholike Monarchies* (R1^v–R2^r; STC 12610), the Spanish text is printed alongside its translation. A further ten texts, while not mentioning Spain directly, may have been recognised as Spanish by English reading publics. These texts' titles refer to Spain, or their named Spanish authors are well known, or they have multiple earlier editions that indicated a Spanish origin. For example, not only does the title of *The Pilgrim of Castile* (STC 24629) allude to Spain, but the title-pages of the second and third editions (STC 24630, 24630.5) also state that the text was 'Written in Spanish. Translated into English', and the dedication personifies the text as a Spanish pilgrim, who after much international travel 'hath at last arived heere in England ... learned our tongue [...] and] taken boldnesse upon him to expose himselfe to a publicke view ...' (A2^r). In addition, whereas the 1614 editions of Anthony Copley's *Wits Fits and Fancies* do not mention Spain (STC 5740, 5741), two earlier publications of the text did (STC 5738, 5739). Similarly, Book 3 of Anthony Munday's *Amadis de Gaule* (STC 543) is not advertised as a Spanish translation, but previous books in the series were (STC 541), and by the time of its publication, in 1618, Amadis was renowned as a Spanish hero.²⁵ Luis de Granada's *A Paradise of prayers* (STC 16916.7) and *Meditations* (STC 16913) were likely recognised as Spanish translations since so many previous editions of his texts were circulating in England that declared their sources to be Spanish;²⁶ Granada

was a prominent theologian whose writings circulated across Europe; while his name 'de Granada' declares him to be a native of this Spanish city. Antonio de Guevara's reputation likely similarly influenced the reception of *The Diall of Princes* (1619, STC 12430) and *The Mount of Calvarie* (1618, STC 12450) because Guevara's texts had been circulating in England since Lord Berners's translations of *The Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius* in 1535, and of the thirty-three editions of his works printed before 1618, many were identified as Spanish translations.²⁷ Thus, if these ten texts were included in the total it would mean that between 83 per cent and 93 per cent (or 82–92 out of 99 texts), of Spanish to English translations were recognised as such.

Spain tends to be invoked as a neutral point of textual origin. That is, paratexts non-judgementally divulge that the originals are Spanish. Texts are 'written in Spanish' (STC 11315), 'Written originally in Spanish' (STC 20860.5), or 'Faithfully translated out of the Spanish originall' (STC 23009). In more than one case Spain is presented as one of several interchangeable continental textual origins. In *The contempt of the world* (STC 10541.7), William Crichton exclaims that he wished the text were 'reduc[ed] out of the Spanish or Italian language (wherein it was first written) into our vulgare & mother tongue' (A2^r). Similarly, *Archaio-ploutos* names Spanish, Italian, and French sources on its title-page (STC 17936.5); *Bibliotheca Scholastica Instructissima* lists sources in English, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish (STC 7174), and *Palmerin d'Oliua* is said to be 'written in Spanish, Italian, and French; and from them turned into English' (STC 19159). On the one hand, the inclusion of so many different source languages might suggest a lack of concern with the precise language of the source text used and that not all translators or printers were as captivated by Spain as socio-historical analyses of large-scale public opinion may suggest. However, on the other hand, it places the work in a transnational context, which would have been an important selling point.²⁸

It is essential to note that these instances of seeming to refuse Spanish any pride of place amongst the other languages listed differ from erroneous linguistic attributions to the language of the intermediary translation, as in the cases of *The diall of princes* (STC 12430) and *Amadis de Gaule* (STC 543), which are presented as French translations rather than translations of Spanish texts via French; or *A briefe relation of the late martyrdome* (STC 19776), which comes to English via French and Italian intermediary translations and is announced as a French and Italian translation. Indeed,

texts that come from Spanish to English through other languages are presented as Spanish translations at only a slightly lower rate than direct translations. Sixteen texts in my corpus derive from intermediary translations: nine are Englished via Italian, six via French, and one via French and Italian. Of these texts with intermediary translations twelve are advertised as Spanish translations, and an additional two may have been recognised as having Spanish origins. Thus, these works identify as Spanish translations at a rate of 75–88 per cent, just below the findings for the rest of the group, which identifies as Spanish at a rate of 84–94 per cent, and for the entire corpus, which, as stated above, is 83–93 per cent.

Subdividing the texts into generic taxonomies reveals slight variations in the texts’ relationships to Spain, suggesting that genre is a determining factor in the naming of Spain as the source for the translation and in the inclusion of commentary on Anglo-Spanish affairs (see Table 5.2). Of the wide variety of genres that English translators make available to their reading publics, religion is the largest and most complex generic category, with thirty-six texts, encompassing devotional manuals, hagiographies, prayer books, and Counter-Reformation texts. Jesuit texts abound. All but two texts are Roman Catholic, and three-quarters are printed on the continent, in important Catholic printing centres such as Douai and St Omer. Three figures dominate the scene: the English College Press of St Omer printed thirteen texts; Charles Boscard (in Douai) printed six; and John Heigham, ‘the most productive English Catholic publisher of the early seventeenth century after the English College press’ and the translator of Luis de la Puente’s *Meditations upon the Mysteries of our Holie Faith*

Table 5.2 Spanish to English Translations 1614–1625: Genre and Mention of Spanish Origins

<i>Genre</i>	<i>Total number of texts</i>	<i>Stated Spanish origin</i>	<i>Spanish origins maybe known</i>	<i>Comment on Anglo-Spanish relations</i>
Religion	36	28 (78%)	5	13
Current events	26	25 (96%)	0	15
Literature	17	12 (70%)	4	5
Education	14	11 (79%)	0	1
Travel/ navigation	4	3 (75%)	1	0
History	2	1 (50%)	1	0

(STC 20486), to be discussed below, published two texts and commissioned three of those printed by Boscard.²⁹ The religious texts' relationships to Spain are particularly intricate because there are theological and legal issues of censorship to navigate and because the texts' value rests upon their participation in a doctrinally Roman Catholic community rather than one that is particularly Spanish.³⁰ The religious texts are highly likely to acknowledge their Spanish sources: they do so at a frequency of 78–89 per cent. Further, with thirteen out of thirty-six texts or 36 per cent of texts commenting on Anglo-Spanish affairs, they do so more than any other genre.

Current events account for twenty-six texts. This taxonomy includes all descriptions of incidents that are roughly contemporaneous, including happenings that are religious in nature and royal proclamations. All but four of these texts were printed in London and twenty-five out of twenty-six (96 per cent) clearly articulate their origins.³¹ This is not surprising since news stories (then as now) were valued according to their perceived veracity: the greater the story's proximity to the source of the happening, the more accurate it seemed; thus, news from Spain, originally written in Spanish, was a lucrative commodity.³²

The next largest group of translations is literature, with seventeen texts. The majority are romances, but there are also picaresque fictions and a collection of exemplars and aphorisms. Spanish chivalric romances were in vogue in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and English readers were likewise interested in the new Spanish genre of picaresque fiction;³³ translations in these genres thus highlight their origins, so we see that 70–94 per cent of works of literature were identifiable as Spanish translations. Manuals of Spanish language instruction translated from Spanish authors constitute another genre. They would have been of understandable value to aspiring language learners, and so it is not surprising that these texts prominently display their origins. Of the group of fourteen educational texts, which includes language learning manuals, grammars, and commonplace books, eleven clearly articulate their relationship to Spain. Since Spain was a leader in maritime navigation and exploration and Spanish expansion was a matter of great concern and interest to the English, texts in this genre that advertised their Spanish origins would increase in importance.³⁴ Accordingly, of the four works of travel or navigation, three (75 per cent) highlight their Spanish sources, and the fourth was most likely also perceived as originating from Spain. With only two texts, the category of classical history is too limited to offer valid

statistical analysis. All of the works of literature, travel, education, and history were printed in London. While individual figures did not dominate the print market of these Spanish to English translations as was the case with the religious texts, a group of printers and publishers can be isolated who seem to have had an interest in Spanish works and who were known as sources for Spanish material, most notably Edward Allde, Edward Blount, and Nicholas Okes, as well as to a lesser degree, George Eld, George Purslowe, Henry Seile, and Nathaniel Butter.³⁵

Yet, while texts regularly acknowledge their Spanish sources, as Table 5.2 illustrates, comparatively few use paratextual spaces to engage with Anglo-Spanish affairs: only thirty-four texts (35 per cent) of the corpus comment on Spain and its relationship to England. In what follows, I define topical commentary as any remark on the religious, social, political, or cultural relationships between England and Spain. Texts that praise Catholicism or Catholic practices or the Reformed Church and its practices are not included unless they also articulate a critique of the opposing religion or offer a socio-cultural opinion on religious doctrine or observance. Thus, for example, works such as *A Treatise of the Holy Sacrifice of the Masse*, which claims ‘That in the Catholicke Church there is a true and proper sacrifice, which is that of the Holy Masse’ (*5^r; STC 18001), or *The Practise of Christian Workes*, which includes ‘certaine pious meditations vpon the beades’ are not deemed to include topical commentary (t.p.; STC 11315). I have, however, admitted texts such as *The Lives of Saints*, in which the Kinsman brothers reflect upon the difficulties faced by English Catholics (Tome 1, STC 24731.5). Moreover, texts that praise (or condemn) specific Spaniards are not included, but those that voice an opinion on Spain and its citizens, such as *The diall of princes* in which ‘Spain [is] commended for learned men and expert in the warres’ (STC 12430, 1619; *3^v), are counted.³⁶ According to this definition, topical observations are found most often in religious texts and narratives of current events, yet they likewise appear in literature, as will be discussed in more detail below. The histories, the texts of travel and navigation, and the educational texts tend to shy away from commentary on Spain. The single exception is the didactic manual, *The Examination of Men’s Wits* by Juan Huarte, translated by Richard Carew, in which Carew dedicates his text ‘to the Majesty Don Philip, our Souveraigne’ and ‘Catholike royall maiesty’ (STC 13895; A2^v) and laments that ‘those who have not a wit fit for Divinity have destroyed the Christian religion’ (A3^v).³⁷

Of the thirteen religious texts that engage with topical issues regarding England and Spain, ten use paratextual spaces to condemn the values, practices, or theology of the Reformed Church and to contrast them with the Catholic doctrine espoused in the texts. In an extended travel metaphor, Frances Meres, the translator of *The Sinners Guide*, laments 'the great scarcity of our [English] Traffickers to so rich a Mine' of divinity (STC 16919; A2^v), which in the Prologue is more specifically defined as the 'heathen' 'error' of eschewing Marian devotion (B2^{r-v}). *The Audi Filia* takes issue with Calvinism specifically, urging readers to rejoice in the Catholicism 'in Spayn, in Italy, in France ...' (**5^r), and to 'detest the doctrine of Calvin' (G4^r), which is adhered to by English 'miserable ... damned spirits' who 'think themselves more happy in nothing, then if they might draw us into a society with them in torment' (**5^r). Not surprisingly, the two Reformed texts in the corpus present the opposite viewpoint. Fernando de Tejada, alias Tomás Carrascón de las Cortes y Medrano, was a Spanish convert to Anglicanism who translated his own works—*Texeda retextus or the Spanish Monk* and *Miracles unmasked*—from Spanish into English. *Texeda retextus* articulates the author/translator's renunciation of Catholicism as it praises England and heaps aspersions on his native Spain, while *Miracles unmasked*, as its subtitle declares, is 'A treatise proving that miracles are not infallible signes of the true and orthodoxe faith: that popish miracles are either counterfeit or divellish'.

There are only two texts in this generic grouping that move beyond religion and into the political realm, and both do so to celebrate the Spanish Match and link the union to a favourable reception of Catholicism in England. In the dedication to *A Treatise of the Holy Sacrifice of the Masse*, the translator presents 'this Infant of Spanish Descent, clad in English Attire' to Mary Hurst, née Petre (*2^v; STC 18001) because of her 'Devotion to the most holy Mystery of the Masse' (*2^r). Her Catholic devotion and the book's concomitant reception are specifically linked to Anglo-Spanish politics, as the translator specifies that his Spanish 'infant' will be welcome 'especially at this Tyme, when so happy a Union & firme Friendship is now most happily concluded between two so mighty Kingdomes by so Fortunate and Hopefull a Mariage' (*3^{r-v}). The personification of the text and the punning allusion to the Spanish Infanta allows the translator boldly to imagine the welcome entry of Catholic belief into Jacobean England. While he rejoices in the open circulation of Roman Catholic works and the widespread dissemination of the devotional practices as outlined in texts such as his *A Treatise of the Holy Sacrifice of the*

Masse, his dedication also clearly illuminates the basis of English Protestants' fears regarding the corruption of the Anglican Church and the undermining of the Anglican political stronghold that would ensue following the marriage of Charles and Maria Anna. Of course, the doctrinal and political results of a successful Spanish Match cannot be known, but the space opened up by the negotiations was filled with speculation and, ultimately, with the fairly confident anticipation, by both Catholics and Protestants, of a religious rapprochement to follow in the wake of the politico-romantic union.

John (alias Roger) Heigham articulates a similarly intimate connection between the Match and the positive development of Catholicism in England in the peritextual material to *Meditations upon the Mysteries of our Holy Faith*. This Jesuit text was one of many Catholic works produced, sold, and smuggled into England from Douai and St Omer by Heigham, an exiled recusant. The book of prayer and meditation is accompanied by a lengthy, polemical 'Preface unto all deceived Protestants' (*3^v–A2^r) and by a dedication to Prince Charles, in which Heigham anticipates a positive future for English Catholics. He explains that the translation is:

... grounded vpon the singular hope, which both my selfe, and other Catholiques haue, of your maruellous mild gentle nature: and partlie for that gracious disposition, which you haue so clearlie manifested, to espouse a Catholique Princesse of our Religion, which motiue alone made me nothing to doubt but that a Spanish pearle coming from that coutrie, would be vnto you a gratefull present.

Behold then (Right Noble Sir) that you haue at once offered vnto you, two of the rarest pearles of all Spaine: the one, a Princesse of Spaine to enrich and adorne your temporall house: the other, this pearle of Spaine to adorne the spirituall temple of your soule: both trule pearles of such infinit price, as deserue to be presented to no lesse a Prince than your selfe are. (*2^v–*3^r)

Support for the union is grounded in shared religious belief. Heigham and his fellow English Catholics are in favour of the match specifically because Maria Anna is a Catholic princess. He has 'hope' in the positive reception of his translation and the religious beliefs it espouses due to Charles's 'marvellous mild and gentle nature' and in his 'gracious disposition'. Moreover, he links the act of translation to the impending nuptials since both text and princess are metaphorically described as enriching Spanish 'pearls' that will improve Charles's earthly and spiritual states. The division between the temporal and spiritual is nebulous, however, since

both princess and translation are associated with the True Church and with salvation through the biblical allusion to the parable of the pearl of great price from Matthew 13.³⁸ The connections between prince, princess, pearl, price, and the presented presents, are all reinforced through alliteration, lending additional rhetorical force to the argument.

The Spanish Match is also specifically invoked in the paratexts of the works dealing with current events. Statistics imply that the narratives of current events comment most frequently on topical issues, doing so at a rate of 58 per cent (15/26 texts). However, these numbers are somewhat skewed by the multiple editions of *Vox populi* and its sequel. In the period under scrutiny *Vox populi* was printed nine times and *The second part of Vox populi* was edited four times (see Table 5.3).³⁹ These pseudo-translations were part of a propaganda campaign by Thomas Scott intended to rouse public opposition to the Match.⁴⁰ *Vox populi* purports to give an accurate transcription of Gondomar's report to the Spanish Council in 1618, outlining the extent of his successful subversion of English government, his anti-English schemes, his stolen intelligence, and his negative assessment of England, with the aims, according to the subtitle, 'to forewarn both England and the United Provinces how farre to trust to Spanish pretences'. Despite the fictitious nature of the account, readers accepted its veracity, and Gondomar and James were so infuriated by Scott's text that he was forced into exile, whence he continued to issue his polemical pamphlets, including *The second part of Vox populi* in which, as its subtitle affirms, 'Gondomar appear[s] in the likenes of Matchiauell in a Spanish parliament, wherein are discovered his treacherous & subtile practises to the ruine as well of England, as the Netherlandes'. The text's engagement with Anglo-Spanish politics extends from the title-pages to the rest of the paratexts, including the illustrations and dedicatory epistles.

The topic of religion returns to the fore in the sensational news pamphlet *A true relation of the lamentable accidents, caused by the inundation and rising of ... riuers of Spaine* (STC 20860.5). In this narrative the natural disaster is presented as divine punishment and a warning for all sinners to mend their ways by embracing the true, Reformed Church. Whereas natural or military disasters were routinely interpreted as divine punishment in the period,⁴¹ this translation boasts new printed marginal glosses that reconfigure the disaster as a specific punishment for Catholicism and condemn 'suspicious' 'Idoltrous' Catholic practices:⁴² readers are urged to 'Thinke upon it seriously, and [...] finde that al this was not without cause' (B3v). Two woodcuts visually reinforce the potentially tragic outcomes of

Roman Catholic belief. The first, found on both A4r and B4v, portrays a cityscape in which water levels are so elevated that only the roofs of houses, the top branches of trees, and a church spire are visible. Those who have climbed to safety look on with concern as their possessions are destroyed and their neighbours, family members, and livestock drown.⁴³ The image seems to imply that if readers do not want to find themselves in this situation they only need to embrace the Reformed Church. The second woodcut, printed on the title-page and B2^r, is more complex (see Fig. 5.1).



Fig. 5.1 *The last Terrible Tempestuous windes and weather. Truly Relating many Lamentable Ship-wracks, with drowning of many people, on the Coasts of England, Scotland, France and Ireland ...* (London: [Edward Allde and John Beale] for Joseph Hunt, 1613). (Reproduced by permission of The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford. Shelfmark: Vet. A2. e20, fol. 132r)

Whereas the arresting, sensational image ostensibly depicts the flood, it is much more evocative of a maritime disaster. Indeed, it had previously been used in a 1613 publication to illustrate ‘many lamentable ship-wracks, with drowning of many people’.⁴⁴ The top section of the woodcut shows the town ravaged by the storm. Heavy gusts have broken the church steeple and sent the top of the windmill flying through the air. The bottom section represents the destruction of several ships and drowning sailors. A gruesome line of corpses runs through the centre of the woodcut. The rain falling from dark clouds and the strong winds that blow from the left hand corners of the image certainly suggest that a storm rather than a flood is responsible for the destruction. The heap of bodies and sinking ships are more in line with the portrayal of a maritime fleet devastated by storms than that of an urban flood. As such, the woodcut may visually allude to the Spanish Armada: both the tempest that destroyed the Spanish fleet and the ensuing English victory were regularly interpreted as divine punishment for the Spaniards and divine reward for the English. But even if the woodcut does not directly recall the events of 1588, the sinking Spanish ships and corpses invoke the longstanding Anglo-Spanish feuds at sea, providing the Hispanophobic English reading public with a satisfying image of their enemy’s defeat. The woodcut diminishes the Spanish threat by providing a visual destruction of their navy as the text reminds readers that adherents to the false, Roman Catholic religion are doomed. The header ‘News from Spain’, with no mention of the flood, reinforces this reading and it fully accords with the narrative and the marginal notes, which ascribe responsibility for the disaster to God.

Compared to the genres of current events and religion, fewer works of literature engage in discussions of the political and religious controversies that affected the two nations during this period, and when they do turn to Anglo-Spanish affairs, they tend to make passing remarks rather than extensively engaging with the issues invoked. Only five (29 per cent) literary texts use their paratextual spaces to articulate opinions regarding Spain: direct commentary is offered in *Gerardo the Unfortunate Spaniard* (STC 4919) and *The Pursuit of the Historie of Lazarillo de Tormes* (STC 16927); more indirect remarks are found in *The Rogue* (STC 288–9), *The Pleasant History of Lazarillo de Tormes* (STC 15338), and *Amadis of Gaule* (STC 541). Leonard Digges boasts of the improvements he has made to *Gerardo the Unfortunate Spaniard*, explains how he has anglicised the text, and connects his methodology to his religious convictions. As he writes, ‘One by-discourse I haue left wholly out, as superstitiously smelling of Papisticall

Miracles; in which I haue no beleefe' (A3^v), he creates ideological distance between himself and his text, recalls the text's dubious national origins, and aligns himself with fellow English Protestant readers. Interestingly, doctrinal differences do not prevent Digges from admiring his author's talents: he praises Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses's writing as he condemns his moral tenets.

A Protestant viewpoint is likewise articulated and contrasted with Spanish values in *The Pursuit of the historie of Lazarillo de Tormez*, written and translated by Juan de Luna. In the prefatory material, de Luna speaks out against 'Spanish ignorance' and mocks his fellow Spaniards for their folly and irrational fear of the Inquisition. Such Spanish hostility is not surprising since de Luna was a Protestant exile from Spain: he was active in influential Huguenot circles in France from 1612 until he fled to England in 1621, where he preached for the Spanish Reformed community. Anti-Spanish sentiment likewise pervades the paratexts of *Lazarillo de Tormes* and both editions of *The Rogue*: in the former the *picaro* is introduced as a typical Spaniard, whose inclinations to beggary and crime are inherent to his nationality; in the latter, personification is used to extend the critique of *The Rogue's* language to the people who speak and write that language. Language and nationality are similarly associated in *Amadis of Gaule*, wherein Antoine Macault depicts the act of translation as clearing the earth of Spanish weeds in preparation for the cultivation of linguistic and cultural riches (i^v).⁴⁵

As these examples illustrate, from author's addresses to readers or dedicatees through prefaces and prologues to marginal glosses and woodcut illustrations, English translations of Spanish works use a variety of paratextual spaces to engage with political, religious, or cultural aspects of Anglo-Spanish relations. But even though only 35 per cent of Spanish to English translations articulate opinions on contemporaneous Anglo-Spanish issues, each of them is a linguistic and cultural 'contact zone' and a participant in the tense climate of political and cultural exchange between these two nations.⁴⁶ Translation is not a neutral activity, even when texts claim to offer direct renditions of their originals. Translations, rather, are dialogic spaces, where languages and cultures may pugnaciously collide, soberly converse, or lovingly embrace.⁴⁷

Renaissance translation is often theorised as a combative practice of linguistic and imperial appropriation.⁴⁸ For many, to translate was to conquer, to subjugate, to domesticate the foreign.⁴⁹ Surveying the 'commonplaces and metaphors' of translation, Anne Coldiron identifies a

host of translations that employ citizenship metaphors, which ‘personify translations as foreigners entering England’ or draw upon the figurative language of ‘nation, empire, discovery, and conquest’ in which ‘the translator discovers, conquers, or brings the text triumphantly to England’ returning with the ‘verbal spoils [...] of another kind of empire-building’.⁵⁰ Barbara Fuchs identifies a metaphoric of piracy that underlies English translations of Spanish texts and she characterises translations as ‘acts of successful looting’ that ‘imagine translation as a violent taking for the national good’.⁵¹ This imagery of domesticating the foreign appears in many of the texts in my corpus, such as *The Pilgrim of Castile*, *The Rogue*, *Gerardo the Unfortunate Spaniard*, and *Treasure of auncient and moderne times*. These works suggest the instability of nationality: language can be put on, as easily as a new suit of clothes, to borrow the imagery from *The Pilgrim of Castile*, and transform a Spaniard into an English person. They likewise articulate how linguistic conquest enacts allegorical military victory as translation makes Spanish subjects English, a process that extends through early modern Spanish to English translations.

But while the conceptualisation of translation as subjugation contributes to our understanding of why so many works of religion, literature, pedagogy, navigation, history, and current events announce their Spanish origins, it only tells part of the story. For instance, by naming Spain, Catholic texts invoke an international religious community of true believers and advertise the theological authenticity of their content. Following a century of feuds and continued religious antagonism, King James was proposing a dynastic union with Spain. Inquisitiveness about this longstanding national enemy turned potential ally is certainly understandable, and narratives of current events attempted to satisfy this curiosity. Spain being a dominant European power, the necessities of trade and diplomacy heightened the expediency of learning the language, and thus, as Anglo-Spanish contact increased, language manuals proliferated.⁵² Knowledge of advanced Spanish military and navigational skills was desirable due to English military and imperial aspirations. Furthermore, Spanish prose and drama were flourishing and irresistible to avid readers and to keen writers looking for inspiration. Whatever reason or combination of reasons stands behind each translation, they collectively bear witness to the paradoxical state of combined Hispanophilia and Hispanophobia that characterises early modern Anglo-Spanish relations: while people increasingly sought to learn Spanish and Spanish texts were enthusiastically read (in the original, in translation, and in adaptations), anti-Spanish bias and prejudice were

rampant. English readers were fascinated by Spain and were drawn to texts about and from the country. Indeed, as my analysis of the Spanish to English translations of 1614–25 demonstrates, the more Spanish foreign policy dominated the political scene, the greater the demand for Spanish material. These translations thus speak to the often-contradictory English impulses to subjugate, understand, connect with, and enjoy Spain and Spanish culture. Yet beyond such recognisable generic tendencies and shared national concerns, each translation is an idiosyncratic cultural and material production, reflecting the concerns, methodologies, linguistic aptitudes, beliefs, personalities, and socio-/geo-temporal positions of its translator and printer, and encountered by readers as they traverse the paratextual ‘thresholds of interpretation’.

APPENDIX

Table 5.3 List of Spanish to English Translations Printed 1614–1625

Translator	Author	Title	Year	Publication information	STC	Genre	Other information
1. A., E.	Antonio de Molina	<i>Spiritual Exercises</i>	1621	Mechlin: Jaey	17998	Religion	*#
2. A., E.	Antonio de Molina	<i>Spiritual Exercises</i>	1623	Mechlin: Jaey	17999	Religion	*
3. Anon.	M. Garayzabal	<i>A Briefe Relation of the Late Martyrdome of Five Persians</i>	1623	Douai: s.n.	19776	Current events	French and Italian intermediary
4. Anon.	Philip IV	<i>A Proclamation for Reformation</i>	[1623]	London: [Dawson?] for Butter, Bourne, Archer	22992.9	Current events	*
5. Anon.	Luis de Granada	<i>A Spiritual Doctrine</i>	1624	Douai: Taylor	16922a.9	Religion	#°
6. Anon.	Juan Antonio de la Peña	<i>A Relation of the Royall Festiuities, and Juego de Cañas</i>	1623	London: [Purslowe] for Seile	19594	Current events	*
7. Anon.	Anon.	<i>A True Relation of that which Lately Hapned</i>	1623	London: [Eld] for Butter, Bourne, Sheffard	23009	Current events	*
8. Anon.	Willem Usselincx?	<i>A True Relation of the Fleete</i>	1625	London: for Britannicus	15571	Travel	*
9. Anon.	V. Rejaule	<i>A True Relation of the Lamentable Accidents</i>	1618	London: for Blackwell	20860.5	Current events	*^
10. Anon.	Fernando Manojó de la Corte	<i>Newes from Spaine</i>	1622	Madrid: [the widow of Correa de Montenegro]	17258	Current events	*

(continued)

Table 5.3 (continued)

Translator	Author	Title	Year	Publication information	STC	Genre	Other information
11. Anon.	Philip IV	<i>The Copy of Two Letters Sent from Spaine</i>	1621	London: Kingston for Lee	19843.5	Current events	*
12. Anon.	Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza	<i>The Joyfull Returne</i>	1623	London: Allde for Butter and Seile	5025	Current events	*
13. Anon.	Antonio de Guevara	<i>The Mount of Caluarie</i>	1618	London: Allde for Grismond	12450	Religion	o
14. Anon.	Lope de Vega	<i>The Pilgrime of Casteele</i>	1621	London: [Allde for] Norton	24629	Literature	o
15. Anon.	Lope de Vega	<i>The Pilgrime of Casteele</i>	1623	London: Allde for [N]orton	24630	Literature	*
16. Anon.	Lope de Vega	<i>The Pilgrime of Casteele</i>	1623	London: [Allde] for Norton	24630.5	Literature	*
17. Anon.	Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra	<i>The Travels... of Persiles and Sigismunda</i>	1619	London: H[umphrey] L[ownes] for Mathew Lownes	4918	Literature	* French intermediary
18. Anon.	Anon.	<i>The Triumphant and Sumptuous Arch</i>	1619	London: G[riffin] for Seile	19843	Current events	*
19. Anon.	Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza	<i>Two Royall Entertainments</i>	1623	London: [Haviland] for Butter	533	Current events	*^
20. Arias, Francisco	Anon.	<i>The Little Memorial</i>	[1620]	[St Omer: Boscard]	742.3	Religion	*

(continued)

Table 5.3 (continued)

Translator	Author	Title	Year	Publication information	STC	Genre	Other information
21. Arnold, Elizabeth	Andrés de Laguna	'The Invective of Doctor Andreas de Laguna,' in <i>A Treatise Against Painting and Tincturing of Men and Women</i>	1616	London: Creed and Alsop	24316	Current events	* The text is on B3r-B4v
22. B., W.	Fernandes de Queirós	<i>Terra Australis Incognita</i>	1617	London: [Norton and Bill] for Hodgetts	10822	Travel	o
23. Badduley, William (aka William Lee)	Anon.	<i>The Theater of Japonia's Constancy</i>	[1624]	[St Omer: English College Press]	14475	Religion	*
24. Bell, Francis	Andrés de Soto	<i>A Brief Instruction</i>	1624	Brussels: Pepermans	22936.5	Religion	*
25. Bell, Francis	Antonio Daza	<i>The Historie, Life, and Miracles, Extasies and Revelations</i>	1625	St Omer: [Boscard] for Heigham	6185	Religion	*
26. Carew, Richard	Juan Huarte	<i>The Examination of Mens Wits</i>	1616	London: Islip for Adams	13895	Education	*^ Italian intermediary
27. Copley, Anthony	Melchor de Santa Cruz de Dueñas	<i>Wits, Fittes, and Fancies</i>	1614	London: Allde	5740	Literature	o
28. Copley, Anthony	Melchor de Santa Cruz de Dueñas	<i>Wits, Fittes, and Fancies</i>	1614	London: Allde	5741	Literature	o
29. Cotton, George	Diego de Estella	<i>The Contempt of the World</i>	1622	St Omer: [Boscard] for Heigham	10541.7	Religion	* Italian intermediary

(continued)

Table 5.3 (continued)

Translator	Author	Title	Year	Publication information	STC	Genre	Other information
30. Digges, Leonard	Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses	<i>Gerardo the Unfortunate Spaniard</i>	1622	London: [Purslowe] for Blount	4919	Literature	* ^
31. Draxe, Thomas	Anon.	<i>Bibliotheca Scholastica Instructissima</i>	1616	London: Bill	7174	Education	*
32. Eden, Richard	Martín Cortés	<i>The Arte of Navigation</i>	1615	London: Stansby, for Tapp	5805	Travel	*
33. Everard, Thomas, and Joseph Creswell	Francisco de Borja	<i>The Practise of Christian Workes</i>	[1620]	[London]: s.n.	11315	Religion	*
34. Everard, Thomas	Luis de la Puente	<i>Meditations vpon the Mysteries</i>	[1624]	[St Omer: English College Press]	20487	Religion	*
35. Floyd, John	Antonio de Molina	<i>A Treatise of the Holy Sacrifice of the Masse</i>	[1623]	[St Omer: English College Press]	18001	Religion	*
36. Gainsford, Thomas	Juan de la Casa	'An Epitome of Good Manners', in <i>The Rich Cabinet</i>	1616	London: Beale for Jackson	11522	Education	Text is on Y6v-2A4r
37. Grimston, Edward	Pedro Mexía	<i>The Imperiall Historie</i>	1623	London: H[umphrey] L[ownes] for Mathew Lownes	17852	History	* Italian intermediary

(continued)

Table 5.3 (continued)

Translator	Author	Title	Year	Publication information	STC	Genre	Other information
38. Hakewill, George	Juan de la Puente	'The First Volume of the Convenience of the Two Catholike Monarchies', in <i>An Answer to a Treatise written by Dr. Carier Meditations upon the Mysteries of our Holie Faith</i>	1616	London: Bill	12610	Religion	* Text is on R1v-R2r
39. Heigham, John	Luis de la Puente	<i>Meditations upon the Mysteries of our Holie Faith</i>	1619	St Omer: [Boscard]	20486	Religion	*^
40. Hopkins, Richard	Luis de Granada	<i>A Memoriall of a Christian Life</i>	[1625]	St Omer: Heigham	16906	Religion	*
41. Hopkins, Richard	Luis de Granada	<i>Granada's Meditations and An Excellent Treatise of Consideration and Prayer</i>	1623	London: Allde	16913	Religion	o
42. Hopkins, Richard	Luis de Granada	<i>F. L. Granada's Meditations</i>	1623	London: [Allde] for Browne	16914	Religion	*
43. Kinsman, Edward and William	Alonso de Villegas	<i>The Lienes of Saints</i>	[1614]	Douai: the widow of Kellam	24731.5	Religion	*^ Italian intermediary
44. Kinsman, Edward and William	Alonso de Villegas	<i>The Lienes of Saints</i>	[1615]	Douai: the widow of Kellam	24731a	Religion	*# Italian intermediary

(continued)

Table 5.3 (continued)

<i>Translator</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Publication information</i>	<i>STC</i>	<i>Genre</i>	<i>Other information</i>
45. Kinsman, Edward and William	Alonso de Villegas	<i>The Lives of Saints</i>	1621	[St Omer: Boscard]	24731b	Religion	*^ Italian intermediary
46. Kinsman, Edward and William	Alonso de Villegas	<i>The Lives of Saints</i>	[1623]	[St Omer: English College Press]	24732	Religion	*^ Italian intermediary
47. Kinsman, Edward	Anon.	<i>An Appendix of the Saints lately Canonized</i>	1624	Douai: Taylor	24738	Religion	o
48. Lewkenor, Lewis	Antonio de Torquemada	<i>The Spanish Manduile of Myracles</i>	1618	London: Alsop for Hawkins	24136	Travel	*
49. Lodge, Thomas	Luis de Granada	<i>A Paradise of Prayers</i>	1614	London: Field for Law	16916.7	Religion	o
50. Luna, Juan de	Juan de Luna	<i>A Short and Compendious Art</i>	1623	London: Jones	16925	Education	*
51. Luna, Juan de	Juan de Luna	<i>The Pursuit of the Historie of Lazarillo de Tormez</i>	1622	London: Alsop for Walkley	16927	Literature	*^
52. M., I.	Alonso de Madrid	<i>A Breve Methode or Way</i>	1625	St Omer: for Heigham	535.7	Religion	*
53. Mabbe, James	Mateo Alemán	<i>The Rogue</i>	1623	London: [Eliot's Court Press and Eld] for Blount	288	Literature	*^ Italian intermediary

(continued)

Table 5.3 (continued)

Translator	Author	Title	Year	Publication information	STC	Genre	Other information
54. Mabbe, James	Mateo Alemán	<i>The Rogue</i>	[1623]	London: [Eliot's Court Press and Eld] for Blount	289	Literature	* ^ Italian intermediary
55. Manfield, Henry	Andrés Capilla	<i>A Manuall of Spirituall Exercises</i>	[1625]	St Omer: Boscard for Heigham	4603	Religion	
56. Matthew, Toby	John of Avila	<i>The Audi Filia</i>	[1620]	[St Omer: English College Press]	983	Religion	* ^
57. Matthew, Toby	Francisco Arias	<i>The Judge wherein is Shewed</i>	1621	[St Omer: English College Press]	741	Religion	
58. Meres, Francis	Luis de Granada	<i>The Sinners Guide</i>	1614	London: Field, for Blount	1619	Religion	* ^
59. Milles, Thomas	Pedro Mexía et al.	<i>Archaio-plutos</i>	1619	London: Jaggard	17936.5	Education	*
60. Minsheu, John	John Minsheu	<i>A Most Copious Spanish Dictionary in The Guide into Tongues...</i>	[1617]	London: Stansby and Eliot's Court Press	17944	Education	*
61. More, Henry	Tomás de Villacastín	<i>A Mannall of Devout Meditations and Exercises</i>	1618	[St Omer: English College Press]	16877	Religion	* ^
62. More, Henry	Tomás de Villacastín	<i>A Mannall of Devout Meditations and Exercises</i>	1623	[St Omer: English College Press]	16877.5	Religion	* ^
63. Munday, Anthony	Anon.	<i>Palmerin d'Oliua</i>	1615	London: Creede	19159	Literature	* French intermediary

(continued)

Table 5.3 (continued)

Translator	Author	Title	Year	Publication information	STC	Genre	Other information
64. Munday, Anthony	Anon.	<i>Palmerin d'Oliua</i>	1616	London: C[recde] and A[lsop] for Higgenbotham	19159a	Literature	* French intermediary
65. Munday, Anthony	Anon.	<i>Primaleon of Grece</i>	1619	London: Snodham	20367	Literature	French intermediary
66. Munday, Anthony	Anon.	<i>The Third Booke of Amadis de Gaule</i>	1618	London: Okes	543	Literature	° French intermediary
67. North, Thomas	Antonio de Guevara	<i>Archontorologion, or The Diall of Princes</i>	1619	London: Alsop	12430	History	° French intermediary
68. Rowland, David	Anon.	<i>Lazarillo de Tormes</i>	1624	London: H[aviland]	15338	Literature	* ^ intermediary
69. Scott, Thomas	None; pseudo translation	<i>Vox populi</i>	1620	[London?: s.n.]	22098	Current events	* ^
70. Scott, Thomas	None; pseudo translation	<i>Vox populi</i>	1620	[London?: s.n.]	22098.5.	Current events	* ^
71. Scott, Thomas	None; pseudo translation	<i>Vox populi</i>	1620	[London?: [s.n.]	22099	Current events	* ^
72. Scott, Thomas	None; pseudo translation	<i>Vox populi</i>	1620	[London?: [s.n.]	22100	Current events	* ^
73. Scott, Thomas	None; pseudo translation	<i>Vox populi</i>	1620	[London?: [s.n.]	22100.2	Current events	* ^

(continued)

Table 5.3 (continued)

Translator	Author	Title	Year	Publication information	STC	Genre	Other information
74. Scott, Thomas	None; pseudo translation	<i>Vox populi</i>	1620	[London?]: [s.n.]	22100.4	Current events	* ^
75. Scott, Thomas	None; pseudo translation	<i>Vox populi</i>	1620	[London?]: [s.n.]	22100.6	Current events	* ^
76. Scott, Thomas	None; pseudo translation	<i>Vox populi</i>	1620	[London?]: [s.n.]	22100.8	Current events	* ^
77. Scott, Thomas	None; pseudo translation	<i>Vox populi</i>	[1624]	[Holland: s.n.]	22101	Current events	* ^
78. Scott, Thomas	None; pseudo translation	<i>The second part of Vox populi</i>	1624	[London]: [Okes and Dawson]	22103	Current events	* ^
79. Scott, Thomas	None; pseudo translation	<i>The second part of Vox populi</i>	1624	[London]: [Okes and Dawson]	22103.3	Current events	* ^
80. Scott, Thomas	None; pseudo translation	<i>The second part of Vox populi</i>	1624	[London]: [Okes and Dawson]	22103.7	Current events	* ^
81. Scott, Thomas	None; pseudo translation	<i>The second part of Vox populi</i>	1624	[London]: [Jones]	22104	Current events	* ^
82. Shelton, Thomas	Miguel de Cervantes	<i>The History of Don-Quichote</i>	[1620?]	[London]: [Stansby] for Blount	4916	Literature	*
83. Shelton, Thomas	Saavedra Miguel de Cervantes	<i>The Second part of ... Don Quixote of the Mancha</i>	1620	London: [Eliot's Court Press] for Blount	4917	Literature	*
84. Squire, William	Anon.	<i>News from Manora</i>	1614	London: [Okes] for Archer	17229	Current events	*
85. Stepney, William	Stepney, William	<i>The Spanish Schoole-master</i>	1620	London: Okes for Harison	23258	Education	*

(continued)

Table 5.3 (continued)

Translator	Author	Title	Year	Publication information	STC	Genre	Other information
86. Sweetnam, John and Thomas Everard	Antonio de Molina, Francisco Arias, Richard Haller	<i>A Treatise of Mental Prayer</i>	[1617]	[St Omer: English College Press]	18000	Religion	* ^
87. Tejeda, Fernando de	Fernando de Tejeda	<i>Texeda Retextus: or the Spanish Monke</i>	1623	London: S[nodham] for Mylbourne	23923	Religion	* ^
88. Tejeda, Fernando de	Fernando de Tejeda	<i>Miracles Vnmashed</i>	1625	London: S[nodham] for Blackamore,	23921	Religion	* ^
89. W., I.	César Oudin and Juan de Luna	<i>A Grammar Spanish and English</i>	1622	London: Haviland for Blount	18897	Education	*
90. Walpole, Michael	Pedro de Ribadeneyra	<i>The Life of B. Father Ignatius of Loyola</i>	1616	[St Omer: English College Press]	20967	Religion	* ^
91. Walpole, Michael	Pedro de Ribadeneyra	<i>The Life of the Holy Patriarch S. Ignatius of Loyola</i>	1622	[St Omer: English College Press]	20968	Religion	* ^
92. Welde, William	William Bathe	<i>Janua linguarum</i>	[1615]	London: H. L[ownes] for M. Lownes	14466	Education	*
93. Welde, William	William Bathe	<i>Janua linguarum</i>	[1616]	London: H. L[ownes] for M. Lownes	14466.5	Education	*

(continued)

Table 5.3 (continued)

Translator	Author	Title	Year	Publication information	STC	Genre	Other information
94. Welde, William	William Bathe	<i>Janua linguarum</i>	[1617]	London: H. L[ownes] for M. Lownes	14467	Education	*
95. Welde, William	William Bathe	<i>Janua linguarum</i>	[1617]	London: H. L[ownes] for M. Lownes	14,467.5	Education	*
96. Welde, William	William Bathe	<i>Janua linguarum</i>	[1621]	London: H. L[ownes] for M. Lownes	14468	Education	*
97. Welde, William	William Bathe	<i>Janua linguarum</i>	[1623]	London: H. L[ownes] for M. Lownes	14468.5	Education	*
98. Wilson, John	Desiderius	<i>Desiderius</i>	1625	[St Omer: English College Press] for M. Lownes	6777.7	Religion	#
99. Wright, William	Pedro Morejon	<i>A Briefe Relation of the Persecution</i>	1619	[Saint-Omer: English College Press]	14527	Current events	*^

The following symbols are used to provide additional information about the texts:

- * = text clearly announces that it is a translation from Spanish
- ° = text was likely recognised as a translation from Spanish
- ^ = provides commentary on Anglo-Spanish relations
- # = full paratext not inspected

NOTES

1. Figures are based on data gathered from Brenda Hosington et al., *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Online Catalogue of Translations in Britain 1473–1640*, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/rcc/>, accessed 10 October 2016, and supplemented by Alan K. G. Paterson and Alexander Samson, *Early Modern Spanish-English Translations Database 1500–1640*, <http://www.ems.kcl.ac.uk/apps/index.html>, accessed 10 October 2016. I follow the definition of translation as set out in the Introduction to the *RCC* catalogue, <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/rcc/index.php?page=introduction>, accessed 10 October 2016.
2. For a list of these texts, see Table 5.3.
3. For discussions of the publications of 1623, see Alexander Samson, '1623 and the Politics of Translation', in *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623*, edited by Alexander Samson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 91–106; Judith Simmons, 'Publications of 1623', *The Library*, 21 (1966), 207–22.
4. Although Gérard Genette does not include a discussion of illustrations in his foundational work, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, he acknowledges that their 'paratextual relevance seems [...] undeniable', and so they form part of my study. Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 405.
5. Anne E. B. Coldiron, 'Form[e]s of Transnationhood: The Case of John Wolfe's Trilingual *Courtier*', *Renaissance Studies*, 29 (2015), 103–24 (p. 108).
6. See Barbara Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013) and *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Samson, 'Introduction', in *The Spanish Match*, p. 1, and 'A Fine Romance: Anglo-Spanish Relations in the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 39 (2009), 65–94.
7. Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy*, p. 9.
8. The average yearly output of Spanish translations from 1575 to 1610 is 4.2. There are peaks in activity during pivotal moments in the wars, such as the Armada (6 texts in 1588; 5 texts in 1589), the Drake–Hawkins and Essex–Raleigh expeditions and the failed Armadas of 1596–7 (12 texts in 1596; 5 texts in 1597; 9 texts in 1598; 9 texts in 1599), and the negotiations of the Treaty of London (6 texts in 1604).

9. Earlier historical analyses of Charles's voyage interpreted his actions within the framework of continental politics and religious feuds, specifically the mounting hostilities in the Rhineland. More recently, scholars such as Glyn Redworth and Alexander Samson highlight the secondary role of the Palatinate in the Spanish Match. They argue that an Anglo-Spanish marriage would not have shifted the balance of power sufficiently to restore Frederick and Elizabeth to power, but that James may have believed that it would have led to intensified Spanish efforts for peace, which he greatly desired. See Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta*, p. 3; Samson, 'Introduction', in *The Spanish Match*, p. 1; Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621–1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 18–19.
10. Paul L. Hughes and James Francis Larkin, eds., *Stuart Royal Proclamations: 1. Royal Proclamations of King James I 1603–1625* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 519–20 and 495–6.
11. Clerics, including John Everard of St Martin-in-the-Fields and John Knight of Oxford, were sentenced to imprisonment or house arrest for speaking against royal policy. English peers, such as the Earl of Oxford, suffered similar fates, and numerous pamphlets against the Match circulated, including the Spanish to English pseudo-translations by Thomas Scott to be discussed below. See Simmons, 'Publications of 1623', p. 208; Jerzy Limon, *Dangerous Matter: English Drama and Politics in 1623/24* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 8–9; Cogswell, *Blessed*, pp. 27ff.
12. Cogswell, *Blessed*, p. 45, and pp. 45–50 for a discussion of critiques of James's foreign policy.
13. Samson, 'Introduction', in *The Spanish Match*, p. 3.
14. Simmons, 'Publications of 1623', p. 207.
15. Samson, '1623 and the Politics of Translation', pp. 92–100.
16. Simmons, 'Publications of 1623', p. 218.
17. Thomas Cogswell, 'England and the Spanish Match', in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603–1642*, edited by Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London and New York: Longman, 1989), pp. 107–33 (p. 109).
18. Claire Jowitt, "'I am another woman": The Spanish and French Matches in Massinger's *The Renegado* (1624) and *The Unnatural Combat* (1624–5)', in *The Spanish Match*, pp. 155–76 (p. 155); Limon, *Dangerous Matter*, p. 20; Cogswell, *Blessed*, pp. 7–12.
19. Limon, *Dangerous Matter*, p. 7.
20. Trudi Darby, 'The Black Knight's Festival Book?: Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess*', in Samson, *The Spanish Match*, pp. 177–92 (p. 184). This includes plays such as *A Game at Chess* and Jonson's masque *Neptune's*

Triumph for the Return of Albion, discussed by Darby, as well as plays such as Thomas Heywood's *If you know not me, you know nobody*, popular entertainments, and *The Renegado* by Thomas Massinger.

21. David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 96.
22. Clare Wikeley, 'Honour conceal'd; strangely reveal'd: The Fool and the Water-Poet', in *The Spanish Match*, pp. 189–208 (p. 191).
23. This group of texts includes works such as John Fletcher's *The Chances* (c.1613–25), *Women Pleased* (c.1619–23), *The Island Princess* (c.1620), *The Pilgrim* (c.1621), *The Wild Goose Chase* (c.1621), *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife* (1624); Fletcher and Francis Beaumont's *Love's Pilgrimage* (c.1615–16); Fletcher and Massinger's *A Very Woman* (c.1619–22), *The Little French Lawyer* (c.1619–23), *The Double Marriage* (c.1619–23), *The Custom of the Country* (c.1619–23), *The Spanish Curate* (1622), *The Prophetess* (1622); Fletcher, Massinger, and Beaumont's *Beggar's Bush* (c.1612–22); Fletcher, Massinger, and Field's *The Queen of Corinth* (c.1616–18); Fletcher, Massinger, Webster, and Ford's *The Fair Maid of the Inn* (c.1623–5); *Swetnam the Woman Hater* (Anon., c.1620); Rowley and Middleton's *The Spanish Gypsy* (1623); Massinger's *The Renegado* (c.1624) and *The Bondman* (1623–4?); Rowley's *All's Lost by Lust* (1619); Middleton and Rowley's *The Changeling* (1622); *Two royall entertainments, lately given to the most illustrious Prince Charles* (1623), Jonson's *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion* (1623); Heywood's *If you know not me, you know nobody* (1623).
24. I was not able to inspect the full paratexts of four texts in the corpus, so the statistics could vary slightly.
25. See Helen Moore, ed., *Amadis de Gaule Translated by Anthony Munday* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. xix–xxiii.
26. See, for example, *The Sinners Guide* (1614; STC 16919), *Meditations* (1623; STC 16914), *A Spiritual Doctrine* (1599; STC 16922), *Granada's Devotion* (1598; STC 16902), *Granados spiritual and Heavenly Exercises* (1598, 1600; STC 16920–1), *A Memoriall of a Christian Life* (1586, 1599, 1612; STC 16903–5).
27. These editions include *The Golden Epistles* (1582; STC 10796), *The Familiar Epistles* (1574, 1575, 1577; STC 12432–4), *The Booke of the Invention of the Art of Navigation* (1578, STC 12425), *A Chronicle, Conteyning the Lives of Tenne Emperours of Rome* (1577; STC 12426), and *A Looking Glasse for the Court* (1575, STC 12448).
28. On the marketability of the transnational see Coldiron, 'Form[c]s of Transnationhood'.

29. Paul Arblaster, 'Heigham, John (*b. c.1568, d. in or after 1634*)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12868>, accessed 10 October 2016.
30. These issues are surveyed in Jaime Goodrich, *Faithful Translators: Authorship, Gender, and Religion in Early Modern England* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2014); Alison Shell, 'Spiritual and Devotional Prose', in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation into English, Volume II: 1550–1660*, edited by Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings, and Stuart Gillespie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 418–30.
31. In fact, the exceptional text, *A Briefe Relation of the Late Martyrdome of Five Persians*, was translated via a French or Italian intermediary, and so it is possible that even the English translator was ignorant of its textual origins.
32. For a study of the dynamism of international news networks, the importance of veracity, and the complexities associated with translating 'Catholic' news, see S. A. Barker, "'Newes Lately Come": European News Books in English Translation', in *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473–1640*, edited by Sara Barker and Brenda Hosington (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 227–44.
33. See Joyce Boro, 'Introduction', to Margaret Tyler, *Mirror of Princely Deeds and Knighthood* (London: MHRA, 2014), pp. 1, 3–5; Donna B. Hamilton, *Anthony Munday and the Catholics, 1560–1633* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 73–80. Hamilton discusses the reception of Munday's romances in the context of the Spanish Match on pp. 97–105.
34. On the importance of translation in maritime intelligence gathering, see Susanna De Schepper, "'For the Common Good and for the National Interest": Paratexts in English Translations of Navigational Works', in *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads*, edited by Barker and Hosington, pp. 185–208.
35. On the Spanish-speaking network in London, see Trudi Darby, 'William Rowley: A Case Study in Influence', in *The Cervantean Heritage: Reception and Influence of Cervantes in Britain*, edited by J. A. G. Ardila (London: Legenda, 2009), pp. 249–58 (esp. pp. 254–6).
36. These texts are, respectively: *The arte of navigation* (STC 5805); *The Life of B. Father Ignatius of Loyola* (STC 20967); *Archaio-ploutos* (STC 17936.5); and *Gerardo the Unfortunate Spaniard* (STC 4919).
37. This prologue is an accurate translation of the original and so, while the views expressed are not necessarily Carew's, the text still articulates a pro-Spanish, Catholic perspective.
38. Matthew 13:45–6.

39. These texts also had an active manuscript circulation. See Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), pp. 75 and 96–7.
40. See Scott's *News from Parnassus*, *The Belgique Soldier*, *Sir Walter Raleigh's Ghost*, and *Symmachia: Or, a true lover's knot*.
41. See for example another text in my corpus, *A true relation of that which lately happened to the great Spanish fleet*. This work provides an account of an exploratory voyage that culminated in shipwreck, coupled with an extensive catalogue of the over 400 casualties. It therefore offers a vivid portrayal of extensive Spanish financial, military, and personal loss. The address 'To the reader' proposes an interpretation of the failed expedition as divine punishment for sin (A2^r), which, depending on readers' sensibilities and politics, could be read as an implied attack on Catholicism. Certainly, the translator of *A true relation of the lamentable accidents, caused by the inundation and rising of ... riuers of Spaine* would have interpreted the disaster in such a way.
42. See also the glosses on B2^v and B3^r.
43. This woodcut was previously used in at least three pamphlets describing English floods: Anon., *A true report of certaine wonderfull ouerflowings of Waters, now lately in Summerset-shire, Norfolke, and other places of England destroying many thousands of men, women, and children, ouerthrowing and bearing downe whole townes and villages, and drowning infinite numbers of sheepe and other Cattle* (London: W[illiam] J[aggard] for Edward White, 1607), STC 22915; Anon., *Lamentable newes out of Monmouthshire in Wales. Conteyning The wonderfull and most fearefull accidents of the great ouerflowing of waters in the saide Countye, drowning infinite numbers of Cattle of all kinds, as Sheepe, Oxen, Kine and horses, with others: together with the losse of many men, women and children, and the subuersion of xxvi parishes in Ianuary last 1607* (London: [Edward Alde] for W[illiam] W[elby], 1607), STC 18021; Anon., *More strange Newes: Of wonderfull accidents hapning by the late ouerflowings of waters, in Summerset-shire, Gloucestershire, Norfolke, and other places of England; with a true Relation of the Townes names that are lost, and the number of persons drowned, with other reports of accidents that were not before discovered: happening about Bristow and Barstable* (London: By W[illiam] I[aggard] for Edward White, 1607), STC 22916.
44. Anon., *The Last terrible Tempestuous windes and weather. Relating many Lamentable Ship-wracks, with drowning of many people, on the Coasts of England, Scotland, France and Ireland: with the Iles of Wight, Garsey & Iarsey. Shewing also, many great mis-fortunes, that haue lately hapned on Land, by reason of the windes and rayne, in diuers places of this Kingdome*

- (London: [By Edward Alde and John Beale] for Joseph Hunt and are to be sold by John Wright, 1613), STC 25840.
45. Macauley (d. 1550) was a translator, secretary, and manservant in the employ of King Francis I of France. His dedicatory poem was composed for Herberay's French translation of *Amadis*, but its residual presence in this edition, with no explanatory commentary, renders his words applicable to Munday's work.
 46. On translation as a linguistic and cultural variant of Mary Louise Pratt's contact zone, see Anne Coldiron, 'Public Sphere/Contact Zone: Habermas, Early Print, and Verse Translation', *Criticism*, 46 (2004), 207–22; Lawrence Venuti, 'Translation, Community, Utopia', in *The Translation Studies Reader*, edited by Lawrence Venuti, 2nd edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 482–502 (p. 491). See also Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, eds., *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1998) and *Translation, History, and Culture* (London: Pinter, 1995).
 47. Richard Helgerson, 'Language Lessons: Linguistic Colonialism, Linguistic Postcolonialism, and the Early Modern English Nation', *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, 11.1 (1998), 289–99 and *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Richard Foster Jones, *The Triumph of the English Language: A Survey of Opinions Concerning the Vernacular from the Introduction of Printing to the Restoration* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1953); Danielle Clarke, 'Translation and the English Language', in *Oxford History of Literary Translation*, ed. Braden et al., pp. 17–23.
 48. F. O. Matthiessen, *Translation: An Elizabethan Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931), p. 3; James E. Ruoff, 'Translations', in *Macmillan's Handbook of Elizabethan and Stuart Literature* (New York: Macmillan, 1978 [1975]), pp. 428–33 (p. 428). On the parallels between conquest and translation see Clarke, 'Translation and the English Language', p. 17; Douglas Robinson, *Translation and Empire: Postcolonial Theories Explained* (Manchester: St Jerome, 1997), pp. 55–60; Anne Coldiron, 'Commonplaces and Metaphors', in *Oxford History of Literary Translation*, ed. Braden et al., pp. 112–14.
 49. On translation as an act of domestic inscription see Venuti, 'Translation, Community, Utopia', pp. 483 and 491–502.
 50. Coldiron, 'Commonplaces and Metaphors', p. 113. For the violence inherent in translation, see also Lawrence Venuti, 'Translation as Cultural Politics: Regimes of Domestication in English', *Textual Practice*, 7 (1993), 208–23 (p. 208); Susan Bassnett, 'The Translator as Cross-Cultural Mediator', in *The Oxford Handbook of Translation Studies*, edited by

Kirsten Malmkjær and Kevin Windle (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 94–107.

51. Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy*, pp. 7, 26.
52. On vernacular multilingualism, see Warren Boutcher, “‘Who-taught-thee-Rhetoricke-to-deceive-a-maid?’: Christopher Marlowe’s “Hero and Leander”, Juan Boscan’s “Leandro”, and Renaissance Vernacular Humanism’, *Comparative Literature*, 52 (2000), 11–52.

PART II

Translation and the Cultural Uses of
Paratexts: Six Case Studies



Knights, Schoolmasters, and ‘Lusty Ladies White’: Addressing Readers in the Paratexts of Gavin Douglas’s Fourth Book of *Eneados* (1513–1553)

Marie-Alice Belle

In 1553, within a few months of the accession of Queen Mary, London printer William Copland issued a thick, annotated black-letter quarto bearing the title of: *The xiii. Bukes of Eneados of the famose poete Virgill, Translatet out of Latyne verses into Scottish metir* The text, composed in 1513 by Scottish poet Gavin Douglas, represents the first—some say the best—complete translation of Virgil’s *Aeneid* to be produced in the British Isles.¹ A contemporary of William Dunbar and Robert Henryson, Douglas is often portrayed as a liminal figure, straddling medieval and early modern modes of Virgilian reception.² From the medieval tradition he inherited a sense of the *Aeneid* as a protean text, bristling with commentaries, and relayed by a whole parallel tradition of vernacular rewritings. This he combined with humanist concerns, derived from Italian scholarship, for the

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integrity of Virgil's text, and the nature of epic as a distinct literary and interpretive genre.

The liminal status of Douglas's translation is eloquently displayed in the complex paratextual apparatus that accompanies the extant manuscript copies of the text.³ As Christopher Baswell notes:

despite his claims to an austere textual purity ... Douglas makes elaborate and canny use of the late-medieval book of Virgil ... to model ... his own apparatus of vernacular Scots summaries, prologues, afterwords, and prose marginalia. This codicological superstructure, neatly separate from the central Virgilian text, becomes the arena for Douglas's own voice, and his poetic ambitions.⁴

Besides opening up a space for poetical experimentation and self-fashioning in the literary, as well as social and political context of the early sixteenth-century Scottish court,⁵ Douglas's paratexts have also been recognised in recent scholarship as an 'arena' of interpretive debate and negotiation, in which humanist readings of the *Aeneid* as a moral and political allegory 'in praise of Aeneas' vie with a vivid vernacular tradition rooted in the genres of courtly poetry and romance.⁶ Such tensions particularly emerge in regard to Book IV of the *Aeneid*, one of the major textual and interpretive cruxes of the Virgilian text at the time, which Douglas discusses throughout his translation, from his initial prologue and marginal comments to the postface poems appended to the text. The famous episode relating the ambiguous relationship of Virgil's hero, Aeneas, with Dido, queen of Carthage, his departure at the bidding of the gods, and her subsequent suicide, had a notoriously mixed literary and interpretive history. Medieval and humanist commentaries usually focused on Aeneas as an example of moral fortitude in overcoming his passion for Dido in order to fulfil his destiny as the founder of Rome. By contrast, English rewritings of the episode, from Chaucer's *House of Fame* and *Legend of Good Women* to Caxton's 1490 translation of Guillaume Le Roy's *Livre des Eneydes*, offered a rather more sympathetic approach to Dido, portraying her as a pitiful victim of love and of male treachery.⁷

As has been frequently noted, Douglas's paratextual interventions explicitly counter this rich, vernacular tradition in favour of a moralising discourse warning both male and female readers against the dangers of carnal love. Douglas's interpretive positions, and in particular his critique

of Chaucer and Caxton, have variously been read as proof of his humanist concerns for the textual integrity and the didactic value of Virgil's poem, and as a way of reasserting the patriarchal logic of the epic as a narrative dominated by men, and ultimately destined to their use.⁸ Douglas's male readership is indeed clearly defined in the prologue to the first book, in which the translator praises his cousin and patron, Henry, 3rd Lord Sinclair, as a paragon of 'humanyte, curage, fredome and chevalry'—and also, incidentally, as a book collector ('fader of bukis').⁹ This male, courtly readership is confirmed in the postface dedication of the translation, in which Douglas reminds his patron that the work was composed at his command, for his use and that of the Scottish nobility.¹⁰ Douglas further asserts the value of his translation by presenting it as a 'neidfull' pedagogical tool for the use of tutors and schoolmasters.¹¹ While the primary users of his work are thus identified as male, Douglas notably addresses women in the prologues to Books II and IV of the translation, issuing cautionary statements against the perils of romantic love. 'Harkis, ladeis, your bewte was the caws!'—he interjects as he mentions the fall of Troy. Similarly, he draws on the example of Dido's tragic love affair with Aeneas to: 'command ... lusty ladeis qhyte / Bewar ... strangeris of onkouth natioun ...'.¹²

According to Marilyn Desmond and Christopher Baswell, Douglas's addresses to female readers, especially in the prologue to Book IV, are to be read as an attempt to 'limit' the intertextual space opened up by Chaucer, by 'bracketing' or 'marginalising' the vernacular tradition offering a more sympathetic version of the episode.¹³ More recently, however, Jane Griffiths has emphasised the dialogical nature of Douglas's annotating practices, showing how, as a translator, he derived his authority as 'the figure that shapes the text' from a complex engagement with multiple, and sometimes contradictory authorial voices and reading practices.¹⁴ In this chapter, I shall revisit the paratexts of Douglas's *Encados*, with their various addresses to male and female readers, but this time to examine the strategies deployed by the translator, and later by his printer, William Copland, in order to position this new, vernacular *Aeneid* in the nascent British literary field. I shall argue that, rather than simply 'bracketing' the vernacular romance tradition, both Douglas and Copland engage with it as they seek, each in their own way, at once to assert the novelty of the translation as a literary product, and to situate it among contemporary genres, publics, and book formats, in a context of rapidly shifting literary codes and reading practices.

‘GO, VULGAR VIRGILL’: DOUGLAS’S *ENEADOS*
AND THE EARLY SIXTEENTH-CENTURY VERNACULAR *AENEID*

Among the postface poems that conclude Douglas’s translation is an ‘Exclamatioun aganyst detractouris and oncurtass [uncourteous] redaris’. The piece, composed in a Chaucerian metrical pattern of nine-line stanzas, ends with an envoy in which the translator’s distinctive voice is clearly to be heard:

Go, vulgar Virgill, to euery churlych wight
Say, I avow thou art translatit rycht,
Beseyk all nobillys the corect and amend,
Beys not afferyt to cum in prysaris sycht;
The nedis nocht to aschame of the lycht,
For I haue brocht thy purpos to gud end:
Now salt thou with euery gentill Scot be kend,
And to onletterit folk be red on hight,
That erst was bot with clerkis comprehend. (‘Exclamation’, 37–45)

With its overt reference to Chaucer’s ‘Go, litel bok’,¹⁵ and its assertion that Virgil has now been ‘translat[ed] ri[g]ht’, the envoy affirms, not only the literary value of his translation, but its competitive nature. Douglas’s emphatic language may, of course, be read as part of the liminal genre of the defence against ‘uncourteous’, or ‘churlish’ readers. It also offers an eloquent example of what theorists of translation have identified as the intrinsically dialogical nature of retranslations, which tend to define themselves against their precedents.¹⁶ In this case, the ‘Exclamation’ echoes the prologue to Book I, where Douglas explicitly presents his work as a corrective to the problematic renderings of the ‘story of Dido’ by Caxton and Chaucer, respectively. While most scholars have focused on the interpretive aspects of Douglas’s critique, it has also been noted that his spirited discussions of Caxton’s ‘perversion’ of the Virgilian text, and of Chaucer’s ‘offences’, correspond to the Scottish genre of the ‘flyting’, a mode typically employed to establish one’s own poetic voice against competing authorities.¹⁷ My aim in revisiting Douglas’s engagement with his precedents, and with the readers he associates with them, is therefore to show how he marks out a distinctive literary place for his own ‘vulgar Virgil’ among other (pseudo-)Virgilian vernacular narratives circulating in early sixteenth-century Scotland.

Douglas's main critique of Caxton's 1490 *Eneydos* revolves around the substantial enlargement of the Dido episode in the prose narrative, a feature that derives from Caxton's French source, Le Roy's 1483 *Livre des Eneydes*.

Me lyst nocht schaw quhou thy story of Dydo
 Be this Caxtoun is haill pervertit so ...
 He rynnys sa fer from Virgill in mony place,
 On sa prolix and tedyus fasson,
 So that the ferd buke of Eneadon,
 Twichand the lufe and ded of Dido queyn,
 The twa part of his volume doith conteyn (Prologue I, 163–70)

Significantly enough, Douglas also identifies Caxton's translation as composed 'in proys ... of Inglys gross'. Certainly, issues of Scottish linguistic identity are at stake in Douglas's characterisation of Caxton's English as 'gross', and in his punning assertion that, by pretending to translate Virgil, the English translator 'Franchly leys'.¹⁸ But Douglas's critique of Caxton's *Eneydos* as a printed book, in prose, and of French origin, may also be read as a response to the growing prominence of prose romance, a genre naturally associated with Caxton's books and translations, in the contemporary British, and increasingly, Scottish literary landscape.

The English circulation of Caxton's books of Troy, most notably his translations of Lefevre's *Recueil des Histoires de Troye* and of Le Roy's *Eneydes*, is well documented. So is their relationship with female readers (one need only think of the famous dedication of the *Recueil* to Marguerite de Bourgogne, discussed by Anne Coldiron in this volume) and their subsequent role in reshaping the field of English vernacular romance.¹⁹ Their impact on the Scottish book market is, however, more difficult to assess. There is hardly any record of Caxton's books in recent indexes of early modern Scottish libraries, and, according to Priscilla Bawcutt, 'no surviving book by Caxton bears the signature of a Scottish owner'.²⁰ Yet Caxton's books are often mentioned in late fifteenth-century and early sixteenth-century sources, in ways that suggest at once an engagement with, and a certain amount of resistance to his cultural influence. Katie Stevenson remarks for example how in 1485, William, 1st Lord Sinclair, grandfather to Douglas's patron, commissioned additional copies of Sir Gilbert Hay's Scottish *Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede* upon hearing of the publication of Caxton's own version, the *Booke of the Order of Chivalry* (1483).²¹

Closer to Douglas is the case of John Mair's *Historia Majoris Britanniae*, published in 1521, in which Mair, a friend of Douglas's, explicitly sets out to revise and correct Caxton's extremely popular *Chronicles of England*. In the latter case, Elizabeth Hanna notes that, although Mair was writing in Latin, and therefore for a different readership than Caxton (who targeted the English gentry and middle-class who could not read Latin), the main reason why he singled out the *Chronicles* was because of their popularity.²² As such, they offered Mair a convenient foil against which to position his own learned form of historiography. Like Douglas, Mair characterises Caxton's writings as 'hardly coherent ... forgeries', glossing over the fact that Caxton's main source was but a Middle English prose rendition of the Brute story.²³ A similar strategy appears to be at work in Douglas's 'flyting' of Caxton. Although he ostensibly expands his potential public to school-children and 'onletterit folk', Douglas's primary readership is the nobility: his patron, Henry, Lord Sinclair, as well as 'every gentill Scot', including those who may want to 'correct and amend' the translation. By defining Caxton's prose *Eneydos* as a less refined and less reliable form of literature—one whose potentially prestigious French origins are obliquely discredited as 'French lies'—Douglas thus fashions his own verse *Aeneid* as a superior alternative, fitting for his patron and other members of the nobility who will no longer have to be content with Caxton's imported 'English gross'.

Douglas's rejection of Caxton's prose *Eneydos* is especially noteworthy in the Scottish literary context of the early sixteenth century, in which the romance genre was still dominated by verse. By contrast, under the direct influence of the French, and partly as a result of Caxton's own translations, English romance had already shifted towards prose.²⁴ This Scottish tradition of verse romance was particularly vivid in manuscripts of 'Troy book' material. A notable example is the Bodleian Library's MS Douce 148, a late fifteenth/early sixteenth-century manuscript in which Lydgate's *Troy Book*, a poem extremely popular in Scotland, is copied alongside a partial rendition of Lydgate's main source, Guido delle Colonne's *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, in Scottish octosyllabic couplets. Other examples include the first section of the Tibbermuir manuscript, composed around 1500, which combines portions of Lydgate's *Troy Book* with fragments of the same Scottish 'Troy poem', and appears to have enjoyed a wide circulation in Scotland through the sixteenth century.²⁵

Douglas cannot but have been aware of such precedents. He actually addresses Guido delle Colonne's version of the fall of Troy in the marginal

commentary to Book I, reasserting Aeneas's unfailing virtue against Guido's indication that he had played a part in betraying Troy to the Greeks.²⁶ Yet he does not directly attack Lydgate, nor the Scottish 'Troy poem' author, as he does Caxton. Instead, he appears to point towards his native tradition of verse romance in the prologue to Book VIII, for which he uses an alliterative verse form that was characteristic of medieval Scots romance.²⁷ In the Scottish literary context in which verse was still very much the norm for the romance genre, Douglas's dismissal of a Caxton prose translation could then be construed as a way of aligning his own vernacular *Aeneid* with a vernacular literary culture that was undoubtedly vivid for 'every gentle Scot'. Besides his declared faithfulness to the Virgilian text against Caxton's 'perversions', Douglas thus combines an indirect appeal to national literary identity with references to the established readership of Scottish 'Troy poems', in order to position his translation as a linguistically, generically, and socially superior alternative to Caxton's prose romances, which were significantly remodelling the British literary field at the time.

One of the important aspects of Caxton's books that Douglas does not directly address is that of their popularity among female readers. However, the traditional relationship between women and vernacular renderings of the Dido episode is at the heart of his discussion of his other, major precedent, that is, Chaucer. Douglas's repeated references to him, first in the prologue to the first book, and then in the envoy to his final 'Exclamation', undoubtedly speak to the towering importance of the English poet in early modern Scotland.²⁸ As noted by Baswell, Chaucer's status makes him a precedent that is difficult to ignore,²⁹ but also one to be 'excused' for his unorthodox reading of Virgil's poem. As Douglas declares, rather tongue-in-cheek, in the prologue to the first book:

Bot sikkyrly or resson me behufis
Excuss Chauser fra all maner repruffis
In lovyng of thir ladeis lylly quhite
He set on Virgill and Eneas this wyte,
For he was evir (God wait) all womanis frend. (Prologue I, 445–9)

Douglas's emphasis on female readers, 'ladies lily-white', as the cause of Chaucer's errors is worth examining in some detail. The allusion is to the opening prologue and ballad of the *Legend of Good Women*, where Chaucer's narrator is shown to undertake the translation of Ovid's *Heroides*

at the command of his 'white lady' Alcestes, in reparation for the misogynistic material he had previously circulated in his writings, notably in his *Troilus and Criseyde*.³⁰ Yet, beyond the topical reference to the *Legend*, Douglas's characterisation of the English poet as 'women's friend' shrewdly associates Chaucer's courtly mode and its traditionally female readership with the specific literary context of the 'querelle des femmes'. As is well known, Dido represented a central figure in Christine de Pizan's *Cité des dames* and in the vast body of polemical writings spawned by her writings, in Britain as well as on the Continent.³¹ The association of Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* with 'querelle des femmes' literature was further warranted by the numerous responses to Chaucer's text in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century writings on the 'woman question'.³² But for Douglas, the connection appears to serve additional functions. Considering that he frames his own rendering of Book IV according to the high, edifying genre of the 'tragedy', with Boccaccio's *De Casibus* as a prestigious example, relegating Chaucer to vernacular 'querelle' literature considerably heightens the status of his own version. Besides, not only does this association obscure the Ovidian origins of Chaucer's narrative; it effectively removes it from the field of Virgilian translation, leaving the latter free for Douglas to occupy.

Naturally, this implicit hierarchy of genres and authorities works to support Douglas's orthodox interpretation of Book IV (now 'translatit rycht') against the Ovidian counter-narrative relayed by Chaucer. It also draws attention to one of the characteristics of Douglas's translation, namely, its appropriation of the complete range of cultural uses and reading practices associated with the early sixteenth-century *Aeneid*. As illustrated by the translator's address to all kinds of readers in his 'Exclamation' (from 'onletterit folk' to 'nobyllis' and 'clerkis'), Douglas's *Eneados* is set, not only to compete with existing vernacular renderings of Virgil's poem, but also to capture the cultural functions of the Latin poem. For Douglas's marginal commentary—which unfortunately stops after Book I, even in the more complete Cambridge manuscript of *Eneados*—mimics, relays, and engages with the glosses found in the margins of humanist Latin editions, such as the 1501 annotated volume by Badius Ascensius, most probably used by Douglas.³³ His assertion of the pedagogical value of the translation is further supported by the inclusion, in his own commentary, of remarks of a linguistic, historical, and allegorical nature taken from Ascensius's 1501 printed Virgil.³⁴ Even the prologue to Book IV, which revealingly ends with the presentation of the 'tragedy' of Dido as a warn-

ing to 'lusty ladies white', relays this scholarly tradition, since Douglas's framing of the episode as a book on 'lufe' draws on sources as erudite and varied as Augustine's *City of God*, Boccaccio's *Genealogy*, or the twelfth-century allegorical commentary of the *Aeneid* by Bernardus Sylvestris.³⁵ By juxtaposing moralising advice to women with learned considerations on the nature of earthly and divine love, Douglas visibly invests his own text with the complete range of interpretive avenues offered by the early Renaissance *Aeneis magna*.

The multi-level encoding of the translation in the paratexts thus contributes to establishing it at the summit of a more or less explicit hierarchy of literary modes, with verse epic towering over Caxton's 'gross' printed prose, and the genres of learned commentary and edifying 'tragedy' displacing Chaucer's 'female-friendly' courtly poetry. Yet for all the positioning strategies detailed above, recent readings of Douglas's prologues as an attempt to close the intertextual field opened by Chaucer are not altogether satisfying. For, as noted by Priscilla Bawcutt, the very prologue to Book IV is thickly interspersed with textual allusions to the Chaucerian corpus, and, more specifically, to passages from *Troilus and Criseyde* and the *Legend of Good Women*. Among many other parallels, Bawcutt signals the similarity between Douglas's lament on those lost to passion ('Lo, quhou Venus kan hir servandes acquyte! / Lo, quhou hir passionys onbri-dillis all that wyt!', Prologue IV, 85–6) and the palinode in *Troilus and Criseyde*: 'Lo here, of payens corsed olde rites! / Lo here, what alle hire goddess may availle! / Lo here, thise wrecched worldes appetites! ...' (V. 1849–51).³⁶ She equally comments on Douglas's use of oxymorons such as 'sary joys', or 'myrry pane' and their precedents in Chaucer, with Douglas's 'joly wo' echoing in particular both *Troilus and Criseyde* (II. 1099 and II. 1105) and the *Legend of Good Women* (1192).³⁷ Such intertextual references suggest, not only Douglas's own rich engagement with these precedents, but also, most probably, an invitation for readers familiar with them to engage in a dialogical reading of the prologue, with Douglas's prefatorial voice directly answering Chaucer's.

Although it has been established that Chaucer's works were widely known in early sixteenth-century Scotland, Douglas may well have had a specific readership in mind. While Douglas praises his patron, Henry 3rd Lord Sinclair, as a 'father of books', Sinclair's library is mostly known to us through the collection of Chaucerian works usually called the Selden manuscript. Although the exact circumstances in which the collection came into Sinclair's possession are unclear, he most probably acquired it in

the late 1480s. Both his illuminated arms and his signature prominently appear in the manuscript.³⁸ Female readers are also crucially visible, with the names of Sinclair's wife, Margaret Hepburn, and their daughters, Elizabeth and Jane, also to be found in the collection.³⁹ The manuscript includes Middle Scots copies of various poems by Chaucer, alongside others (incorrectly) attributed to him, and the only surviving copy of James I's *Kingis Quair*.⁴⁰ Importantly for us, the collection contains all the sources of Douglas's Chaucerian allusions: *Troilus and Criseyde*, on which Douglas models his envoy ('Go, vulgar Virgil'); the *Complaint of Mars*, which provides him the verse pattern for his 'Exclamation'; and, of course, the *Legend of Good Women*, or 'legendis of ladyes', as Douglas also calls it in the prologue to Book I.⁴¹ Also notable here is the manuscript's coherence, not only as a collection of 'Chaucerian' poems, but also in its focus on the theme of love.⁴² By addressing the same readership as that of the Selden manuscript, presenting *Aeneid* IV as specifically dealing with the various kinds of 'lufe', and engaging in a rich intertextual dialogue with the Chaucerian corpus as specifically constructed in the manuscript, Douglas's paratexts present tantalising connections with this collection and the reading practices attached to it. In this context, his paratextual discussion and translation of *Aeneid* IV could be read as a contribution to an ongoing literary debate, so to speak, on the issues of 'lawful' or 'inordinate' love.⁴³ Certainly, Douglas's version presents itself as a strong corrective to the Chaucerian tradition so well known to his intended readership. But rather than suppressing, or 'marginalising' it, the paratexts to his translation show Douglas engaging, in a multi-layered, dialogical way, with the vibrant literary culture and reading practices of early sixteenth-century Scottish *milieux*, such as that composed by the 'gentle barons', 'clerks', and 'ladies white' of the Sinclair household.⁴⁴

‘A MYROUR OF VERTEW, AND OF GRACE’: WILLIAM
COPLAND'S PARATEXTUAL POSITIONING IN *THE XIII. BUKES*
OF *ENEADOS* (1553)

While Douglas's translation is extant in at least five manuscript copies, the version of the translation that was to prove most influential in early modern Britain was the one printed by William Copland in 1553 as *The xiii. Bukes of Eneados of the famos Poete Virgill*.⁴⁵ The book, a clean, wide-margined black-letter quarto with an ornamented title-page, comes with a

new set of marginal notes, most probably composed in Copland's own printing shop. Copland does not seem to have been overly interested in (or perhaps even aware of) the learned allegorical tradition invoked in Douglas's original commentary, but he did clearly share the latter's focus on the exemplary value of the *Aeneid* as a manual of virtuous behaviour for the nobility. He embraces the humanist reading of the epic in terms of epideictic rhetoric, as shown by his comments on Douglas's defence of Aeneas, in the prologue to Book I: 'Virgil ... settis furthe Eneas a Prince full of all kind of verteus, to be exampill and myrrour to everye Prince and noble man'.⁴⁶ Similarly, in Book IV, the passages evoking Aeneas's distress at leaving Dido are glossed in unequivocally edifying terms: 'Wyse men are oft-times parturbed with affectionis of mind nevertheles th[e]se gav place to reson at the last' (p. lxxxiii^r); or again: 'Eneas lyk a wyse and constant prynce overcummis his affectyons with reson' (p. lxxxvi^v). Far from limiting his interventions to the margins of Douglas's text, Copland interpolates a whole development on the Virgilian hero as a model of virtue and piety in the prologue to Book I. Where Douglas noted that Virgil 'perfectly blasons [through Aeneas] / All worschip, manhed and nobilite', the text of the 1553 edition adds, with a striking shift to the past tense:

He hated vice, abhorring craftineis
 He was a myrrour of vertew, and of grais
 Just in his promys euer, and stout in mynd
 To god faythfull, and to his frendys kynd. (p. v^v)

Similar interferences are also to be noted in the translation itself, and most remarkably, concerning the crucial hunting scene in Book IV, in which Aeneas's and Dido's love is consummated during a storm caused by Juno. In his prologue to Book I, Douglas had sought to clarify Aeneas's relationship to Dido—Virgil stages their first amorous encounter as a nuptial union, yet Aeneas later claims to have made no marriage vows—by asserting that there had been no 'promyt nor band' between them (Prologue I, 439). Douglas had also revealingly omitted to translate Juno's epithet '*pronuba*', by which Virgil precisely indicated that she presided over the union in her capacity as the goddess of marriage.⁴⁷ In the 1553 edition, Copland censures out the sexual nature of the hero's affair by simply eliminating the problematic scene, and moving directly from Virgil's mention of the storm (glossed as 'A Tempest raised by Juno') to the evocation of Fama spreading news of the affair (p. lxxx^v).⁴⁸

Copland's editorial strategies thus clearly advertise the utility of Douglas's translation as a manual of virtuous behaviour for 'every noble man', at once fulfilling the programme set by Douglas's address to 'every gentle Scot' and broadening it to the whole British nobility. The confirmation of the epideictic reading of the epic as a poem 'in praise of Aeneas', with direct practical applications for young men, obviously conforms with the general agenda of humanist education, by then well established in early modern Britain. But Copland's paratexts appear to point to a more pointed pedagogical use of the translation as a source of rhetorical instruction. A good number of the side notes in the 1553 volume actually indicate commonplaces, such as: 'Love makis people negligent' (pp. lxxv[iii]"); 'Exclamacion of the strenth of luf' (p. lxx[viii]r); or, 'The furiosnes^s of love noted' (p. lxxxiii"). Marginal glosses also frequently align the characters' speeches with various genres of classical oratory, namely praise: 'The quene's oration to hyr syster commendying and praysing Aeneas' (p. lxxvi"); *disputatio*: 'A battel betwyx honesty schamfulnes and love' (p. lxxvi"); exhortation: 'Annes answer to the quene exhorting the quene ...' (p. lxxvii"); petition: 'The quenes oration to Eneas desirying hym wyth sundry pyteful argumentis to remayne with hyr' (p. lxxxiii"); invective: 'Quene Didois invectyf oration against Eneas' (p. lxxxv"), etc. The repetition of the term 'oration' is highly suggestive here.

Jane Griffiths notes that similar glossing practices are to be found in Copland's edition of Douglas's other major work, *The Palice of Honour*, also printed in 1553. While she interprets such marginalia as a sign of Copland's general concern for the 'efficacy of rhetoric',⁴⁹ I would argue that, in the specific case of the 1553 *Eneados*, they were designed for a more precise pedagogical purpose. In fact, many marginal comments in Copland's edition—especially those rhetorical in kind—appear to have been translated, often quite expansively, either from the *Vergiliana Poesis* annotated editions printed in Paris in 1510 and 1512, or, more probably, from Richard Pynson's reprint of the Paris volumes, published c.1515.⁵⁰ Examples include the marginalia indicating commonplaces on love ('amor in rabiem versus'; 'exclamatio in cupidinem'),⁵¹ as well as those identifying the various kinds of oratory: 'pugna pudoris cum amore'; 'Anna suadet coniugium'; 'Expostulatio Didonis cum Aeneas'; 'Exprobatio Didonis'.⁵² Now, like its Paris precedent presenting Virgil's poetry as '*Latinitatis norma*', Pynson's volume was designed for pedagogical purposes, and was actually in use at St Paul's, among other grammar schools.⁵³ By reproducing the wide-margined layout of the Latin volume and its rhetorical

glosses—and perhaps taking his cue directly from Douglas's address to 'thame wald Virgill to childryn expone' (Direction, 43)—Copland appropriates both the features and the cultural uses of the humanist schoolroom *Aeneid*, in order to fashion his own book as a useful basis for the education of 'every noble man'.

Although Copland overtly designed the 1553 *Eneados* as an instrument for the moral and rhetorical instruction of noblemen, he nevertheless must have had at least one female reader in mind, the newly crowned Queen Mary.⁵⁴ Copland's shop had actually long been associated with the publication of Protestant tracts, and the accession of the Catholic queen in July of 1553 significantly caused him to take his production in a new direction.⁵⁵ A direct trace of this important turn in Copland's career may be observed on the cover page of his edition of *The Palice of Honour*, printed in the same year, with a very similar title-page to that of *Eneados*, only this time with the revealing inscription: 'Long live Queen Mary'.⁵⁶ Marian politics were also most certainly at play in Copland's striking mention of Douglas's full title and relation with the Earl of Angus, the second husband of Margaret Tudor, on the title-page of *Eneados*: 'bi the Reuerend Father in God, Mayster Gawin Douglas Bishop of Dunkel [and] unkil to the Erle of Angus'. As Donna Hamilton has observed, 'printing these books by the former bishop of Dunkeld honoured the continuance of the Tudor line and also England's return to the Catholicism that Scotland had not as yet abandoned'.⁵⁷ The publication of Douglas's *Eneados* thus clearly participates in what Edward Wilson-Lee has identified as Copland's 'reactionary' publishing strategy under the reign of Mary.⁵⁸

The most notable way, however, in which Copland realigned his production with the religious and political demands of the new reign was by turning to the catalogue of Middle English romances which he had inherited from his relative (most probably his father) Robert Copland, and through him, from Wynkyn de Worde.⁵⁹ William Copland was actually to become the major agent in the revival of the genre of chivalric romance in the 1550s, with a record far surpassing that of any other publisher.⁶⁰ Yet, as noted by Wilson-Lee, Copland's motivations were not only political. Of course, since the beginning of the sixteenth century, romances had been routinely, if often negatively, associated with the old faith, and returning to the catalogue of early Tudor printers could help create a sense of continuity with the old, Catholic order. But there were commercial reasons, too. In reprinting well-known Middle English romances, Copland catered to the tastes of the expanding market of provincial readers, with whom

chivalric tales—and social codes—continued to be popular.⁶¹ With its antiquated language and its depiction of the Trojan hero as a ‘gentle baroun’ and a ‘valyeand wight’,⁶² Douglas’s *Eneados* probably represented an attractive choice for the readership which Copland was just becoming aware of, and would succeed in capturing by the end of the 1550s. He was to be so successful in this venture as to actually move his shop away from St Paul’s in the mid-1550s, ‘as his books were finding lucrative markets outside London’ and he ‘felt less the need for a commercial location situated to catch passing consumers’.⁶³

The alignment of Douglas’s *Eneados* with chivalric romance was probably strengthened by its publication within a few months of *The Palice of Honour*. Of course, the translation itself was indebted to this tradition, both in the presentation of Aeneas as a mirror of ‘courage, freedom and chivalry’, and through its stylistic and metrical features.⁶⁴ While Douglas’s original paratextual positioning strategies—in particular his attempts to distinguish himself from Caxton’s prose of ‘English gross’—were not as relevant in the context of the 1550s, they could still contribute to activating generic associations with medieval verse romance.⁶⁵ In regard to *Aeneid* IV, one can see how Douglas’s presentation of the episode as a book on love in the prologue could fit the conventions of the genre, especially with Copland’s marginalia highlighting Douglas’s emphasis on the dangers of love. Copland intervenes in the margins of the prologue, noting for example: ‘Thes proloug treatis the strength of love the incommodytys and remead of ye same’ (p. lxxi^v). The annotations to the translation itself also highlight that particular theme, with glosses such as: ‘Exclamation of the strenth of luf’ (p. lxxv[iii]^r), or: ‘the strenth of love in the Quene being solitare and alone’ (p. lxxviii^v).

Copland’s own addresses to male and female readers also potentially carry generic associations. By the 1550s, the early circulation of printed romances had strengthened the traditional relationship of the genre with women, and nourished anxieties about the possibly nefarious impact of their romantic plots on the female reader.⁶⁶ Perhaps in response to such concerns, Copland underscores Douglas’s framing of *Aeneid* IV as a cautionary tale for the ladies, as he glosses: ‘A gud counsell to all wemen’ (p. lxxiv^v); or ‘Admonit[...]ion to gentil women’ (p. lxxv^v). While the marginal notes to the prologue less directly echo Douglas’s admonition to ‘fresch gallandis, in hait desyre byrnyng’, Copland does highlight ‘the damage of inordinate love’ (p. lxxii^r); and as a whole, the 1553 edition

lends itself to readings of the Carthage episode as a test of a knight's valour in resisting the temptation of sloth—with Copland noting that 'love makis people negligent' (p. lxxxii^v)—as well as the sin of 'furious' love (p. lxxxvii^v). Such themes would of course continue to be central to vernacular romance, and more specifically to English verse epic, especially as the influence of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* gradually reached Britain. It has been notably suggested that the interpretive complexity of Douglas's translation represented an important precedent for Spenser's own refashioning of the Dido episode.⁶⁷ Certainly, the multiplicity of reading codes and generic associations at work in Copland's 1553 edition—ranging from learned allegory to moralising 'mirror', and from humanist schoolbook to chivalric romance—must have equally contributed to defining vernacular verse epic as a protean literary mode, one that could support a variety of interpretive stances, reading practices, and cultural uses.

CONCLUSION

While most analyses of the paratexts in Gavin Douglas's *Eneados* to date have focused on their interpretive relation to the Virgilian text and tradition, I have sought in this chapter to explore the 'horizontal' connections, so to speak, of the translation, in its manuscript and print versions, with the various literary modes, book formats, and reading practices that shaped the field of reception of the translated text.⁶⁸ Douglas's various directions to his male and female readers certainly represent interpretive instructions, guiding them towards textually and morally orthodox readings of Virgil's epic. Yet, through a complex engagement with alternative versions of the Dido story, they also help Douglas carve out a distinctive place for his 'vulgar Virgil' in the early sixteenth-century Scottish literary landscape. Similarly, although in a rather different context, Copland's marginal addresses to readers draw on a variety of contemporary generic modes, from schoolroom edition to chivalric romance, in order to position this new literary product in an expanding and increasingly specialised book market.

What also emerges from the paratextual strategies examined here is the dynamic, if not competitive nature of the relationship between Douglas's translation, in manuscript or in print, and other versions of the Virgilian narrative simultaneously circulating in early modern Britain. This competition would soon become even fiercer.⁶⁹ Copland's volume is perhaps what spurred William Owen to publish Surrey's translation of *Aeneid* IV

in 1554, three years before the famous 1557 Tottel edition. In that very same year, 1557, Thomas Phaer would produce his own version of the first books of the *Aeneid*, dedicated to Queen Mary, as well as to ‘gentlemen and ladies that studie not Latine’.⁷⁰ While Copland appears to have been anxious to align his volume with the political, religious, and literary demands of his time, his volume undoubtedly opened the way—and the market, it seems—for the printed vernacular *Aeneid*. The publication of the 1553 *xiii. Bukes of Eneados* thus created yet another dynamic literary space, to be explored in all its rich complexity by early modern male and female readers.

NOTES

1. See on this Gordon Kendal, ‘Introduction’, in *Gavin Douglas, The Aeneid*, edited by Gordon Kendal (London: MHRA, 2011), p. 1.
2. On Douglas as a liminal figure, see Christopher Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the Aeneid from the Twelfth Century to Chaucer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 276–80; Emily Wilson, ‘The First British *Aeneid*: A Case Study in Reception’, in *Reception and the Classics: An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Classical Tradition*, edited by W. Brockliss, P. Chaudhuri, A. H. Lushkov, and K. Wasdin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 108–23 (109–10); or again, Alessandra Petrina, ‘Challenging the Author’, in *Abeunt studia in mores. Saggi in onore di Mario Melchionda*, edited by Giuseppe Brunetti and Alessandra Petrina (Padova: Padova University Press, 2013), pp. 23–33.
3. The five extant manuscript copies are fully described in *Virgil’s Aeneid Translated into Scottish Verse: by Gavin Douglas*, edited by David F. C. Coldwell (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1957), vol. I, p. 96. Unless otherwise noted, quotations and verse numbers are taken from this edition.
4. Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*, p. 277.
5. See for example Priscilla Bawcutt’s seminal analysis in *Gavin Douglas: A Critical Study* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976); Lois Ebin, ‘The Role of the Narrator in the Prologues of Gavin Douglas’s *Eneados*’, *The Chaucer Review*, 14.4 (1980), 353–65; A. E. C. Canitz, ‘The Prologues to the *Eneados*: Gavin Douglas’s Directions for Reading’, *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 2.5 (1990), 1–22; Daniel Pinti, ‘The Vernacular Gloss(ed) in Gavin Douglas’s *Eneados*’, *Exemplaria*, 7 (1995), 443–64; John Corbett, *Written in the Language of the Scottish Nation: A History of Literary Translation into Scots* (Clevedon; Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, 1999), pp. 41–8.

6. On the *Aeneid* as 'praise of Aeneas', see the seminal study by Craig Kallendorf, *In Praise of Aeneas: Virgil and Epideictic Rhetoric in the Early Italian Renaissance* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1989). On the tension between the learned and vernacular traditions in Douglas's prologues, see in particular Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*, p. 277, and Marilyn Desmond, *Reading Dido: Gender, Textuality, and the Medieval Aeneid* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 163–94.
7. See Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*, and Desmond, *Reading Dido*, for a full discussion of the medieval interpretive and literary traditions.
8. On Douglas's relation to humanist values and practices, see Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas*, pp. 30ff., or, more recently, Nicola Royan, 'Gavin Douglas's Humanist Identity', in *Writing Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, edited by Eva von Contzen and Luuk Houwen, special issue of *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 41 (2016), 119–36. Desmond reads Douglas's translation as based on a 'gendered model of interpretation that is antifeminist at once in origin and in practice' (*Reading Dido*, p. 194).
9. Prologue I, 85, 98–100.
10. 'That Virgill mycht intill our langage be / Red lowd and playn be your lordschip and me, / And other gentill company ...'. Postface direction to Sinclair, 'Heir the translator direkkis hys buk ...' (hereafter, 'Direction'), 85–7.
11. Direction, 41–8.
12. Prologue II, 15, and Prologue IV, 264–7, respectively.
13. See, respectively, Desmond, *Reading Dido*, pp. 193 and 187, and Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*, p. 277.
14. Jane Griffiths, *Diverting Authorities: Experimental Glossing Practices in Manuscript and Print* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 90.
15. Geoffrey Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, V, l. 1786. *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd edition, edited by Larry D. Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 584. All quotations and line references are taken from this edition.
16. See on this for example Lawrence Venuti, 'Retranslations: The Creation of Value', *Bucknell Review*, 47.1 (2004), 25–38. Significantly, neither of Douglas's precedents actually consists in a direct translation from Virgil, but Douglas presents both as such, in order better to demarcate his own work from them.
17. Bawcutt, *Gavin Douglas*, p. 33; see also 'The Art of Flyting', *Scottish Literary Journal*, 10 (1983), 5–24.
18. See Nicola Royan, 'The Scottish Identity of Gavin Douglas', in *The Anglo-Scottish Border and the Shaping of Identity, 1300–1600*, edited by Mark Bruce and Katherine Terrel (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 194–210.

19. See Yu Chiao Wang, 'Caxton's Romances and Their Early Tudor Readers', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67.2 (2004), 173–88, and more generally, Edward Wheatley, 'The Developing Corpus of Literary Translation', in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Volume 1: To 1550*, edited by Roger Ellis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 173–89 (179–80).
20. Priscilla Bawcutt, 'English Books and Scottish Readers in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 14 (2001–2), 1–12; but she also notes that Scottish libraries suffered greatly in the Reformation. Durkan and Ross's *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow: J. S. Burns and Sons, 1961) and Higgitt and Durkan's *Scottish Libraries* (London: British Library, 2006) hardly include any Caxton books. Elizabeth Hanna, however, identifies several copies of Caxton's books in various contemporary manuscripts. "'A Mass of Incoherencies": John Mair, William Caxton, and the Creation of British History in Early Sixteenth-Century Scotland', *Mediaevalia et Humanistica*, 41 (2015), 137–55 (150–1).
21. Both originate in a French version of Ramon Llull's Catalan romance. Katie Stevenson, 'Scottish Knighthood in the Fifteenth Century', in *Identity and Insurgency in the Late Middle Ages*, edited by Linda Clark (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 33–52 (40).
22. Hanna, "'A Mass of Incoherencies'", p. 140–1.
23. Hanna, "'A Mass of Incoherencies'", p. 141.
24. See on this William Calin, *The Lily and the Thistle: The French Tradition and the Older Literature of Scotland* (North York: University of Toronto Press, 2014), pp. 176–8. Calin notes in particular that Scottish verse romance was considered a high genre, with a readership including 'the nobility and all those with aspirations to nobility' (177).
25. As described for example in Sebastiaan Verweij, *The Literary Culture of Early Modern Scotland: Manuscript Production and Transmission, 1560–1625* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 208–9.
26. Both in Prologue I and in the marginal commentary, where he denounces 'corrupt Gwido'; see Griffiths, *Diverting Authorities*, p. 90.
27. Calin, *The Lily and the Thistle*, p. 176.
28. See Luise O. Fradenburg's seminal 1981 article, 'The Scottish Chaucer', reprinted in *Writing after Chaucer: Essential Readings in Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century*, edited by Daniel Pinti (New York; London: Garland, 1998), pp. 167–76.
29. Baswell, *Virgil in Medieval England*, p. 277.
30. In both versions of the 'Ballad' (*Riverside Chaucer*, p. 597).
31. See for example Anne E. B. Coldiron, *English Printing, Verse Translation, and the Battle of the Sexes, 1476–1557* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 85ff. in particular.

32. See Julia Boffey, "'Twenty Thousand More': Some Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Responses to *The Legend of Good Women*", in *Middle English Poetry: Texts and Traditions*, edited by A. J. Minnis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press for York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 279–97.
33. Douglas's use of Ascensius's 1501 Virgil was first established by Bawcutt (*Gavin Douglas*, pp. 99–102). For a full analysis of Douglas's glossing practices, see Griffiths, *Diverting Authorities*, pp. 48ff.
34. Griffiths, *Diverting Authorities*, p. 49.
35. The latter sums up the traditional association of Book IV with the themes of love and lust by the lapidary formula: 'Dido, id est libido' (*The Commentary on the First Six Books of the Aeneid of Virgil Commonly Attributed to Bernardus Sylvesteris*, edited by J. Jones and E. Jones (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977), p. 12).
36. Bawcutt, 'Douglas and Chaucer', p. 406.
37. Bawcutt, 'Douglas and Chaucer', p. 406.
38. See on this R. J. Lyall, 'Books and Book Owners in Fifteenth-Century Scotland', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475*, edited by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 239–56 (252).
39. As noted by Priscilla Bawcutt, "'My bright buke": Women and their Books in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland', in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain*, edited by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 17–34 (33).
40. A. S. G. Edwards, 'Bodleian Library MS Arch. Selden. B. 24: A "Transitional" Collection', in *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, edited by Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), pp. 53–67; and Alasdair A. MacDonald, 'The Cultural Repertory of Middle Scots Lyric Verse', in *Cultural Repertoires*, edited by Gillies J. Dorleijn and Herman L. J. Vanstiphout (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), pp. 59–86 (71).
41. Douglas actually has 'the legend of notabill ladeys' (Prologue I. 344). For an analysis of the contents of the Selden manuscript, see Edwards, 'A Transitional Collection', and Boffey and Edwards's introduction to *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer and 'The Kingis Quair': A Facsimile of Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Arch. Selden. B. 24* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997).
42. See Lyall, 'Books and Book Owners', p. 252.
43. See Prologue IV. 105–6: 'Gyf luf be vertu, than is it lefull thing / Gif it be vyce, it is your ondoynng'.
44. On the Selden manuscript as a 'household' manuscript, see Boffey, 'Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Selden. B. 24 and Definitions of the "Household Book"', in *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, edited by A. S. G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie, and Ralph

- Hanna (London: British Library, 2000), pp. 125–34. While it might be tempting to read Douglas's disdain towards Caxton's printed book in terms of the usual manuscript vs. print dichotomy, it is not unlikely that Douglas would have had his translation printed, if given the opportunity. See on this Petrina, 'Challenging the Author', p. 33.
45. Griffiths notes for example that Copland's glosses were even possibly integrated in subsequent manuscript copies of Douglas's translation (*Diverting Authorities*, pp. 97–9).
 46. *The xiii. Bukes of Eneados of the famos Poete Virgill. Translatet out of Latyne verses into Scottissh metir ...* (London: William Copland, 1553), p. v^v.
 47. Douglas somewhat ambiguously writes that the 'pronuba Juno' made a 'takyn [token] of wedlock' (IV, 78).
 48. The gloss shows that Copland's indexing practices, which Griffiths calls 'innocuous' (*Diverting Authorities*, p. 96), can be quite deceptive.
 49. Griffiths, *Diverting Authorities*, p. 96.
 50. *Vergiliana poesis que latininitatis norma est ...* (London: Pynson, c.1515). The most likely source for Pynson's edition is Claude Chevallonn's *Vergiliana poesis (que Latininitatis norma est) ...* (Paris: François Regnault et Jean Petit, 1510), since Pynson almost integrally reproduces its title. See also the annotated *Vergiliana Poesis* (Paris: Thomas Anguelart, Hémon le Fèvre et Jean, Geoffroy et Enguilbert de Marnef, 1512).
 51. *Vergiliana Poesis* (Pynson), sigs. [t.v]^r and [t.iv]^r, respectively.
 52. *Vergiliana Poesis* (Pynson), sigs. [s.v]^r, [s.v]^v, [t.ii]^v, [t.v]^r, respectively.
 53. See J. B. Trapp, 'The Humanist Book', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 3: 1400–1557, edited by Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 285–315 (311). The copy held at the Rylands Library (as digitised on EEBO) contains extensive manuscript annotations of the *Eclogues*, perhaps indicative of schoolroom use.
 54. It is possible that the publication of the *Eneados* actually predates her accession to the throne, but, as Edward Wilson-Lee notes, 'the printer was doubtless aware in the early months of 1553 of Edward's debilitated state and had ... begun quietly preparing for the accession of a Catholic monarch'. 'Romance and Resistance: Narratives of Chivalry in Mid-Tudor England', *Renaissance Studies*, 24.4 (2010), 483–95 (485).
 55. See H. R. Tedder, rev. Mary C. Erler, 'William Copland', *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online, 2008; and Wilson-Lee, 'Romance and Resistance', pp. 482–5.
 56. *The Palis of Honoure Compeled by Gawyne [D]owglas Byshope of Dunkyll* (London: William Copland, 1553).
 57. Donna B. Hamilton, 'Re-engineering Virgil: *The Tempest* and the Printed English *Aeneid*', in *The Tempest and Its Travels*, edited by Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), pp. 116–22 (116).

58. Wilson-Lee, 'Romance and Resistance', p. 485.
59. On the links between De Worde, Robert Copland, and William Copland, see Tamara Atkin and A. S. G. Edwards, 'Printers, Publishers, and Promoters to 1558', in *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain 1476–1558*, edited by Vincent Gillespie and Susan Powell (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2014), pp. 27–44 (32–4); and A. S. G. Edwards, 'William Copland and the Identity of Printed Middle English Romance', in *The Matter of Identity in Medieval Romance*, edited by Philippa Hardman (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002), pp. 139–48 (140–2).
60. Edwards, 'Identity', pp. 139–42.
61. Wilson-Lee, 'Romance and Resistance', pp. 486 and 490.
62. Prologue I. 332 and IV. 82.
63. Wilson-Lee, 'Romance and Resistance', p. 486.
64. See Charles Blyth, *The Knychtlike Style: A Study of Gavin Douglas's Aeneid* (New York: Garland, 1987), and, more recently, Douglas Gray, 'Douglas and "the gret prynce Aeneas"', *Essays in Criticism*, 51.1 (2001), 18–34.
65. Copland published both verse and prose romances, among which, Caxton's *Recueyll* (to which Douglas actually refers his readers in Prologue I). See Edwards, 'Identity', p. 139.
66. See on this Helen Hackett, *Women and Romance Fiction in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 9–10.
67. See John Watkins, *The Specter of Dido: Spenser and Virgilian Epic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 49–50. It is uncertain whether Spenser knew Douglas's translation. See discussion by Priscilla Bawcutt, 'Gavin Douglas', in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, edited by A. C. Hamilton (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 223.
68. To adapt Gianfranco Folena's distinction between 'vertical' and 'horizontal' translation. See on this Neil Rhodes, *English Renaissance Translation Theory* (London: MHRA, 2013), pp. 32–3.
69. On the dynamic relationship between Tudor translations of the *Aeneid*, see Margaret Tudeau-Clayton, 'What Is My Nation? Language, Verse, and Politics in Tudor Translations of the *Aeneid*', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature 1485–1603*, edited by Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 389–403.
70. *The Aeneid of Thomas Phaer and Thomas Twyne*, edited by Stephen Lally (New York: Garland, 1987), p. 296.



Approaching Petrarch's *Trionfi*: Paratexts in the Early Modern Scottish Translations

Alessandra Petrina

The very notion of paratexts, as introduced by Gérard Genette in his *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, is inextricably linked with that of the book as a printed object. This is evident in the passage in which he offers a number of examples of paratexts. Most of these can be identifiable only as features of a printed artefact:

a title, subtitle, intertitles; prefaces, postfaces, notices, forewords, etc.; marginal, infrapaginal, terminal notes; epigraphs; illustrations; blurbs, book covers, dust jackets, and many other kinds of secondary signals, whether allographic or autographic.¹

This list of features inevitably dates Genette's taxonomy, anchoring it to a specific moment in Western literary history. Similarly, the literary examples he gives are mostly taken from canonical, post-medieval literature, and often in particular from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Such a choice does not detract from the novelty or efficacy of Genette's discussion, but it diminishes its relevance to the context of the first century of

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European printing because it ignores the flexibility and variety of paratextual practices in that period.

Early modern writers and printers, tentatively exploring the new community created by the advent of printing, often experimented quite freely with paratexts, sometimes attempting to maintain the flexibility offered by manuscripts and incunabula, sometimes transforming the printed page into a space of cultural encounter and exchange, sometimes treating their manuscript, especially when meant for presentation and/or scribal publication,² as an object with the fixity and durability commonly (if questionably) associated with the printed text. On the other hand, the lack of stability of early printed books³ allowed for a wider experimentation within the paratextual space, as printers and, to a certain extent, writers, were gradually becoming aware of its marketing possibilities. Thus in order to analyse early modern paratextual practices, one may find it fruitful to compare analogous texts belonging to the different but adjacent worlds of manuscript and print, in order to gauge the scope and purposes of paratextual material in these two closely related media. In this regard, a further passage from Genette's book might trigger useful considerations, namely his discussion of the paratextual space as a zone of transaction:

a privileged place of a pragmatics and a strategy, of an influence on the public, an influence that—whether well or poorly understood and achieved—is at the service of a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it.⁴

Such a 'privileged place' is of particular interest in the case of early modern translation. We can in fact identify a number of classical, medieval, and early modern writers who inspired a copious number of translations and accompanying paratexts, in both manuscript and print. One was Petrarch. In my comparison between a presentation manuscript and a printed translation of his *Trionfi*, a poem that enjoyed great popularity and was at the centre of intense translation activity in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, I shall look at the enactment of different strategies and the establishment of different relations with the intended reader, interweaving Genette's definition of the paratextual space with Harold Love's reflections on early modern scribal communities.⁵

The circulation of Petrarch's works, even outside the Italian peninsula, was already under way in the fourteenth century. The British Isles were no exception, the first notable example being Geoffrey Chaucer's free rendition of Petrarch's 'S'amor non è' in *Troilus and Criseyde*, and his two

mentions of the poet in the *Canterbury Tales*.⁶ Chaucer's work, however, is an isolated instance: none of his contemporaries appeared to know the Italian poet or his works, and fifteenth-century writers were conversant with his Latin rather than Italian works; in this, they were mirroring what was happening elsewhere in Europe. Nowadays Petrarch is known almost solely as the author of the *Canzoniere*, and his fame in Britain is accordingly based on Sir Thomas Wyatt's early translation of some of the sonnets in that collection, and on the subsequent fashion for the genre in England. Yet such a view is severely limiting. Petrarch's Latin works enjoyed great fame in late medieval and early modern Europe, and works such as *De remediis utriusque fortunae* were read and translated not only in the fifteenth century, but also translated and printed in the sixteenth; an abridged, fifteenth-century Englishing of the treatise is extant in Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.VI.39,⁷ while in 1579 Thomas Dawson printed another (claiming to be the first) English version, this time by Thomas Twyne.⁸ On the other hand, the popularity of the *Canzoniere* followed, at least chronologically, that of the *Trionfi*, which was well known in the English-speaking world, and, unlike the *Canzoniere*, was translated in its entirety at least twice, receiving great attention in Scotland as well as in England. The first complete translation of the *Trionfi*, by Henry Parker, Lord Morley, was also the first 'English Petrarch' to be printed (1555), setting a standard to which later writers, both English and Scottish, had to measure up.

Scotland provides in this instance a good case study, since it boasts two translations of the *Trionfi* appearing between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, both written within a clearly defined and fully expressed paratextual space, and both fully engaged with their scribal or readerly community. The first of these two translations that are the object of the present study was undertaken by William Fowler and completed in 1587 at the court of James VI of Scotland.⁹ Almost sixty years later another Scottish writer, the Calvinist Anna Hume, published her version of three *Trionfi*.¹⁰ In spite of the different contexts within which they were produced, and their completely different material features, there are enough analogies between these two translations to justify a comparison of their paratextual materials.

Of the two translators, William Fowler has received greater attention, not least because much of his literary activity appears to have been undertaken under the aegis of the so-called 'Castalian band', and thus constitutes a case study of exceptional interest in early modern coterie poetry.

Although much of the mystique attached to the ‘Castalian band’ by early scholars has now been defused by studies such as Priscilla Bawcutt’s,¹¹ the output of the poets working at the court of James VI of Scotland in the early years of his reign exhibits, as has been very recently observed, ‘enough coherence to be regarded as an expression of a clearly defined literary identity’,¹² and offers an example of a closely woven scribal community in which the presence of readers and dedicatees is perhaps as strong as that of the writers themselves.

In this setting, William Fowler’s translation of Petrarch stands out on account of its much different role and value from his slightly later (and more famous) translation of Machiavelli’s *Prince*. Most of Fowler’s works appear in drafts or unfinished projects in his manuscripts, but his translation of Machiavelli was very probably undertaken outside the courtly coterie in Edinburgh, and seems to have been mainly a linguistic exercise.¹³ The state of the surviving text, evidently an unpolished draft with an unfinished dedication, makes it difficult for modern scholarship to collocate with any certainty this work within Fowler’s own progress as a writer and public figure;¹⁴ on the other hand, with his version of Petrarch’s *Trionfi* we move on to surer ground, with the dedication clearly indicating 1587 as the date of completion of the text. Also, unlike the *Prince*, the *Triumphs* survive in more than one manuscript witness. The work is in fact extant in two manuscripts—one in the Hawthornden manuscript collection that contains most of Fowler’s writings,¹⁵ the other in a manuscript donated by William Drummond to ‘the collodge of Edinburgh’ in 1627.¹⁶ The latter version is the presentation manuscript, which includes Fowler’s dedicatory letter, a number of accompanying sonnets by friends and readers, and an argument and a short epilogue; it is also the only one to present a translation of the complete work, as the Hawthornden papers contain only part of the first two chapters of the *Triumph of Love* and part of the paratextual material. This supports the view that Fowler’s extraordinary collection of private papers, preserved in the Hawthornden collection, testifies mainly to work in progress on his part, and in fact rarely includes completed work in a form that is intended to be presented or circulated.

We are therefore in a privileged position, being able to witness the development of the paratext from the writer’s draft papers to a ‘public’ presentation copy. This is especially significant in the case of Fowler as he appears fascinated by paratextual material: in the Hawthornden papers, often mistakenly bound together or haphazardly placed, such material occasionally appears to stand in for the whole text, and to have been

planned before, if not in lieu of, the *true* text: thus in this collection we find, for instance, a folio headed 'The lamentatioun of the desolate olympia furth of the tent cantt of Ariosto' which contains almost no trace of the proposed Ariosto translation, but twenty lines of dedication to Lady Mary Beaton;¹⁷ elsewhere we find dedicatory or laudatory sonnets, anagrams, or drafts of mottoes which seem to point at projects that remained unfinished. There is even, in one instance, a work that survives only by means of its paratexts: of *Ichnea, id est. prorsa versa circulariaque symbola* ('Ichnea, that is, direct verses and circular symbols') we have only the double draft of an elaborate frontispiece, the dedication, in Latin, to Arabella Stewart, two dates, 'Lond. ult. Decemb. 1604' and 'Lond. & Janu. 1605', and a table of contents inscribed with mottoes and anagrams.¹⁸ The paratextual matter is foremost in the poet's mind, even before a text takes shape.

In Genette's terms, this situation does not make sense: what the critic calls 'the text properly speaking' is non-existent in these instances. Yet it does make a good deal of sense if we think of this in terms of Fowler's own situation, and of the function of poetry in the royal courts in the late sixteenth century. Poetry, or in any case literary activity, is conceived of as a means rather than an end. In the case of Fowler, we are uniquely placed in that we have access to what are to all intents and purposes his private papers, and by comparing them to the finished version we can obtain a glimpse of the poet's compositional process, one that appears to move from the outside inwards. He begins by referring to the occasion that prompted the literary work and then explores the nature of the text. This tallies with what we know of Fowler's life—his struggle for preferment at court, his dealings with foreign potentates, and his relations with writers and intellectuals in and outside Scotland.¹⁹ What emerges from a perusal of the Hawthornden manuscripts is the portrait of a man for whom literature is often an occasional, extempore, or a topical activity; he appears as a writer whose considerable linguistic gifts and opportunities for studying and travelling abroad became an opportunity to widen the scope of his literary output, but at the same time furnished him with the chance to shine at the Scottish court, or to impress any number of prospective dedicatees. This supposition is borne out by the few of his works that were printed in his lifetime—all occasional or celebratory writings, given meaning by the circumstances in which they were written, or by the dedicatees. From Genette's perspective, a paratext may determine the reader's approach to the text. Indeed, Fowler's paratexts are a determined, deliberate act of reader-orientation. By framing his text in this way, he is also

offering specific directions, almost a manifesto for his intended reader, inscribed within the pattern of advancement and preferment at the Scottish court. It is therefore possible to regard the paratextual material surrounding Fowler's translation of Petrarch's *Trionfi* as a full exploitation, in a definite form, of the potential evident in the fragmentary, apparently random material of the Hawthornden manuscripts.

On the other hand, our second translator, Anna Hume, the daughter of David Hume of Godscroft, not only is far less known and studied than Fowler (often quite simply bracketed in the popular but unilluminating category of 'Renaissance women writers'), but also has left fewer traces of her activity. Her only known work is the translation of the first three *Trionfi* (of Love, Chastity, and Death), which was published in 1644, in the same year and with the same publisher as her father's posthumous *History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus*.²⁰ Sarah M. Dunnigan suggests that 'she was associated with the literary, social, and political circles around the writer William Drummond of Hawthornden',²¹ but the evidence offered to substantiate this claim is slight. Drummond did praise her verse in one letter, while another shows Hume somewhat concerned with the publication of her father's works, but so far nothing more illuminating has been discovered. The only work that can be attributed to her with any certainty is, in fact, the Petrarch translation.

Hume's translation was dedicated to the Princess Palatine, Elizabeth of Bohemia, daughter of Elizabeth and Frederick V of Bohemia, James I's granddaughter and a learned noblewoman—she had studied science and philosophy, and been a friend of Descartes when he was in the Netherlands.²² Although there is no proof of actual contact between dedicatory and dedicatee, the tone of the dedicatory poems suggests some kind of exchange. William Fowler also dedicated his translation to a woman, Jean Fleming, Lady Thirlestane. This is consistent with his practice, as shown above; but it also underlines the relevance of women in the readerly circles created around the *Trionfi*. In the case of English language translation, we may observe a similar instance with the rendering of the *Triumph of Death* by Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, and to a lesser extent with that of the first half of the *Triumph of Eternity* attributed to Elizabeth I; although in neither case is there a dedication, both women moved within scribal communities populated by male and female readers and writers. With hindsight, it might be argued that a female dedicatee was an obvious choice for an early modern Petrarchist text—given that Laura is the speaker in the text, the *Trionfi* have been read as 'an invitation to female poetics',²³

but this may be a modern misconception, born of uncertain notions of Petrarchism as a synonym of courtly love poetry.²⁴ If we consider the various English and Scottish versions of the *Trionfi* (whether partial or complete), we find that three are accompanied by dedicatory letters: beside Fowler's and Hume's renderings, Henry Parker, Lord Morley's full translation, which appeared in print in 1555, contains one in each of his manuscript and print versions.²⁵ Morley dedicated the former to Henry VIII and the latter to Lord Maltravers, son and heir to the Earl of Arundel and possible husband-to-be to the young Princess Elizabeth, in the printed version. Both Scottish translators dedicate their translations to quite exalted women, but here the adjective may be more important than the noun: the very nature of the *Trionfi*—exotic, difficult, and sublime poetry—demands a suitable dedicatee, aristocratic in lineage and in mind. In both cases they also establish an identification between their dedicatee and Laura, Petrarch's protagonist, though in the case of Hume the identification is rather sophisticated: as Dunnigan notes, 'the female poet and the female patron appear as just and sensitive interpreters of Petrarch's female beloved'.²⁶

Clearly, in choosing a female dedicatee, both Scottish translators give a specific connotation to the scribal community within which they inscribe their text; in both cases their paratextual apparatus demonstrates that they made a very conscious choice. Fowler engages his female addressee in what is almost a diatribe on the worth of Petrarchan poetry, at the same time inviting other readers to participate in this project. His adherence to the conventional tropes of Petrarchism is evident in his reference to Laura in the dedication. Petrarch, notes Fowler, was himself imitating the great classical writers, and wrote 'in the honour of her whome he loved, thairby to mak hir more glorious and him selff no less famous'.²⁷ Explaining this to a female dedicatee creates a distance between her and Laura: Jean Fleming is not addressed as a latter-day Laura, but as an intelligent reader, able to understand the poetic strategy activated by the Italian poet and imitated by his Scottish translator. Only towards the end of the dedication do we find an association between the two women: 'to whome ... more fitlye can be offred these *Triumphs* then to a triumphing ladye, Triumpling over all vice, and who hes ellis passed her ouations and fixed Trophees in all vertew?'²⁸ Should Fleming expect to be identified with Laura, she would immediately know that such an association conforms with the norms of a well-established literary convention—there is no pretence at originality or spontaneity. Nor is there any suggestion of intellectual

intimacy between translator and dedicatee: in what we suppose to be the presentation manuscript, the dedication to Jean Fleming is separated from the main text by no fewer than seven commendatory poems and an argument. The commendatory poems are signed by a wide range of representatives in King James's intellectual coterie: we have the king himself vindicating this Scottish poetic effort by evoking the great names of the past, such as Homer, Virgil, and of course Petrarch ('bot thow triumphs ouer PETRARCHS propper name');²⁹ but there are also the poets and musicians Robert and Thomas Hudson; the less easily identifiable A. Colville, possibly Alexander Colville, commendator of Culros;³⁰ 'M. R. Cokburne', probably Sir Richard Cockburn of Clerkington;³¹ and one E. D., author of two sonnets, who has been persuasively identified with Elizabeth Douglas, the lady celebrated by Fowler in a funeral sonnet in which she is described as 'spouse to M. Samuel Cobvrne Laird of *Temple-Hall*'.³² The *Trionfi* translation, with its accompanying sonnets, shows Fowler moving in an articulate milieu; the translator himself, with his dedication, appears to make the 'Castalian' coterie part of a European movement. This is borne out by Fowler's whole literary activity, experimental, curious, and possibly more international in its sources, allusions, and intentions than that of James or other 'Castalians'.

Thus Jean Fleming may be simply the figurehead here, the lady chosen as dedicatee because she closely corresponds to Petrarch's female ideal; in spite of this being a manuscript, the tone is evidently public. Fleming was a public figure—the wife of John Maitland of Lethington, younger brother of William Maitland of Lethington, one of the most powerful politicians in Scotland during the reign of Queen Mary. John himself would be appointed chancellor in 1587, although he became Lord Thirlestane only in 1590,³³ which creates a slight problem in the dating of the Drummond manuscript: either Fowler was being over-obsequious in attributing to Maitland a title not yet conferred on him, or this particular copy of the *Trivmphs* was copied in or after 1590.³⁴ John is punctiliously described in the dedication as 'prencipall Secretair to the King his Ma[jes]tie and great Chancellor of Scotland'.³⁵ Jean Fleming may have been chosen as a gracious way of introducing the two real addressees of this work, John Maitland and King James.³⁶ Such a reading, however, underestimates the choice of the text to be translated, or the way in which Fowler works the presence of Fleming into his dedication, and thus into the *Trivmphs*. It also underestimates the role played by Fleming, who, far from being a mere passive recipient of courtly verse, was rather active on the political

scene.³⁷ Besides being mentioned in the dedication, John Maitland reappears towards the conclusion as 'Lord Chancellours your husband' and then again as the man who

more encreasing and inlarging by his famous vertewis the great glorye his worthye father hes left him, and his peerless Prence procwred him, dois deserve the first place amangis these whose names and renowns surwiweth to this day.³⁸

Through John Maitland, two other people also make an appearance: his father and the king, who, rapidly evoked here as the 'peerless Prence', will also reappear later as an active member of the scribal community participating in the composition of the *Triumphs*.

Whatever role Jean Fleming played, Fowler's letter also shows that this was to be no intimate communication. One passage in particular is striking: after criticising previous translators, Fowler continues:

BOT, MADAME, as I purpose not be debaising of their doings to enhawse my awin, nor by extenuating thair trawellis and derogating from thair desertis to arrogat more praise to my self, So do I now expose the same to the sight and vew of all the world whose iudgement and censeur I must vnderlye ...³⁹

The passage, with its reference to 'the sight and vew of all the world', is surprising if read in the context of manuscript culture, and clashes with our notion of manuscripts as being addressed solely to a very selected audience, as highlighted by Harold Love when he writes that 'scribal publication served to define communities of the like-minded'.⁴⁰ Yet Love's statement and Fowler's claim may be reconciled, since the Scottish translator's community of the like-minded appears, in his view, to be *ipso facto* identified with 'all the world'. If this was Fowler's first major poetic effort, an answer to King James's plea for a renewal of Scottish literature by importing into Scotland the greatest European lyric voice, then his intended audience was indeed 'all the world', including any reader who might be sufficiently erudite and sophisticated to understand the importance of having Petrarch in Middle Scots.

Scottish culture in English at this stage appears as yet uncertain about the status and role of printing as opposed to scribal publication; in this there is a marked difference from contemporary English culture, one that may be partly attributed to the different levels of literacy in the two countries.⁴¹ But this uncertainty was also part of the literary culture in courtly

circles in Scotland: after all, Fowler was at the court of that same King James who, a few years later (1599), would print his *Basilikon Doron* in only seven copies, destined for a carefully selected audience, and prompting this comment on the part of a modern scholar:

While James would claim this was only for safe-keeping, these copies appear to have functioned as presentation copies, making the fact that they were printed rather than copied by scribes all the more striking. Moreover, they were printed in an ostentatious way that both emphasizes their equivalence to manuscript presentation copies and exploits print technology: in large italic letter on high quality paper, with an ornate title page, a number of printer's ornaments throughout, and generous margins.⁴²

An analogous event was the production, by another 'Castalian' poet, John Stewart of Baldynneis, of another presentation manuscript, probably offered in 1585 to King James VI. It included an abridged version of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and other poems by Baldynneis, and in this case, too, the paratextual material included an elaborate dedication, although there were no commendatory poems to complement it, and the poet maintained throughout a tone of intimate communication with his dedicatee.⁴³

In this courtly context, presentation manuscripts and elite, 'private' printing are very much on the same level: in the case of the *Basilikon Doron*, both the fair manuscript copy (now London, British Library, MS Royal 18.B.xv) and the 1599 printed version include a dedicatory sonnet to Prince Henry, a piece not printed in the 1603 edition, that was meant for a larger audience, since James, now King of England, wanted to stem the flow of unauthorised printings. On the other hand, the 1603 'public' edition includes a long address 'To the Reader' which does not appear in either the manuscript or the 1599 private print.⁴⁴ In this transitional phase, in which manuscripts could acquire a public status, and prints a private one, William Fowler goes one step further towards publication, since what we can see in the paratext of this translation is in fact revelatory of the status of court culture in late sixteenth-century Scotland: Fowler's evocation of an international brotherhood of poetry, and the response of the laudatory sonnets in the paratext, are part of an effort on the part of the 'Castalian band' to open up to foreign influence and at the same time acquire international resonance. This also lends new meaning to Fowler's words in his dedicatory letter:

Madame, thair be twoe causes, speaking morally, which boithe in weir and in peace encourageth men in the interpryse and executioun of great things: The first is honour and renowne, The seconde is proffeit and commoditie.⁴⁵

In this case we find the outspokenness highlighted elsewhere in his paratextual material, together with a rather inflated perception of his own translation, implicitly compared to 'the interpryse and executioun of great things'. At the same time, we can observe Fowler's obsession with 'honour and renowne' and his declared plan to pursue 'eternall fame and ever leving glorye'. The choice of Petrarch's *Trionfi* is therefore not only obvious but almost overdetermined. Petrarch is not the archetype to which his translator refers, but a notable instance within a long line of literary tradition. The dedication is quite detailed on this point, starting from Cicero and his defence of the human desire for fame and continuing with the practice of the Roman triumph up to the decline of the Empire with 'Probrus' (probably a misspelling for Marcus Aurelius Probus), at which point Petrarch is clearly shown to have been working 'in imitatioun whai-rof'. Fowler thereby establishes a neat precedent for his own work of translation and imitation, aligning himself with Petrarch's own process of transposition of a cultural practice and literary motif from one language to another. Thus Fowler responds to James's appeal for the creation of a national culture by playing with the intervention and influence of connecting foreign cultures. All the commendatory lyrics pick up the theme of fame or poetic glory, in one case (the sonnet by Robert Hudson) connecting it with that ultra-Petrarchan symbol, the laurel crown. Most insert both Petrarch and Fowler into a literary canon, associating them with Homer and Virgil (King James), with Homer alone (A. Coluille), and with Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Ronsard, Du Bartas, and Surrey (E.D.). Interestingly, the canon can be either reassuringly classical, or include contemporary European writers, some of whom were associated with the Castilians' literary activity, as in the case of Du Bartas.⁴⁶ The effect is to have Fowler, rather than Petrarch, as the summit of this poetic climax, but also to create a suitably international ambience for this literary effort.

A small footnote concerning different traces of the paratext to the *Trionfi* may be appended to these observations. Among the earliest folios of Hawthornden MS 2063 we find one sheet headed 'The Trivmphe of Death – 1 chap'. It is the argument (although no text follows) of a 'deploratioun', a poem lamenting the 'Vntimly death' of Sir Francis

Walsingham, who died in 1590; the title also declares explicitly that this poem is composed ‘be Mr Wm. Fowler of Hauick’.⁴⁷ On the verso, and continuing on the following folio, there is a dedication, ‘To the right Honorable Lady, My Ladye Eleanor Baes, wyffe to the right hon. bl Mr robart Bowes of Ask, Embassadour for his ma.tie the King of Scotland’, accompanying yet another funerary poem, one that has not survived or was never composed. This dedication also contains a reference to the *Trionfi*, as Fowler writes of those whose names have been obscured by death, before adding:

as the florentene poete has song in his ‘triumphs,’
E’l nome loro a pena si retrova –
Scarse can thair name bot euen with pane be found?

The line Fowler quotes in Italian comes from the *Triumphus Mortis*, though it should be noted that this translation of this passage is vastly different (and rather better) than that of the translation of the same line in his own version:

And than your titillis and your stylis sall so obscured lye,
that yow sall all forgotten be, none sall yow hawe thairbye.⁴⁸

An interesting difference, offering us once more a glimpse of a poet for all seasons, able to adapt his own translating and poetic vein to a different addressee.

* * *

Anna Hume’s paratext operates in a completely different way. Although, like Fowler, she opens with a dedication, there is in her case no answering chorus of commendatory poems; the sole other member of this scribal community is Princess Elizabeth. She is offered two short poems. The first rehearses conventional topoi on the homage to a powerful patron, downplaying the value of Hume’s own poetic efforts (‘my rude lines ... they want sense, not had they wit ... they lamely follow’) while underlining Elizabeth’s mercy and virtue, and highlighting the distance between the translator and ‘great’ Petrarch.⁴⁹ In the second dedicatory poem, Hume uses a more personal tone, noting that her effort is not due to vanity, or to the desire to offer profit or delight; in this she marks her distance from

Fowler, who, as noted above, had openly declared that Petrarch's desire, and by implication his own, had been 'to mak hir more glorious and him selff no less famous'.⁵⁰ Rather, Hume follows up on the humility topos of the first poem to declare,

I doe not dedicate these to delight
Or profit you, both are the Authors right:
Nor is it that your Highness may protect
My part, it merits not so much respect;
Nor that you may examine and compare,
It lesse deserves such serious Princely care:
Nor is it gratitude, because y'have been
Pleas'd to approve some others you have seen ...
Nor vanity, that thus I may have leave
To tell the world the honour I receive ...⁵¹

This extraordinary series of negations appears to contradict all the conventional paraphernalia of the dedication and to move further away from the stance of the 'Castalian' poets, as seen in the cases of both Fowler and Baldynneis. After thus building up the reader's expectations, Hume concludes her poem with these words:

If any ask me, What is then my end?
'Tis to approve my selfe a reall friend
To chaste *Lauretta*, whom since I have tane
From the dark Cloyster, where she did remain
Unmarkt, because unknown, my aime is now
To make her happy, by attending you:
Where she may see her truest worth outgone,
And learn more vertue then she yet hath known.⁵²

The image of the translator taking Laura out from the dark cloister is at first surprising: there may be an anti-Catholic bias in the choice of the word *cloister*, but it is probably more correct to interpret the image in wider terms. The cloister represents all the 'typical' and traditional feminine virtues: chastity ('chaste *Lauretta*'), silence, anonymity ('unmarkt ... unknown'). Furthermore, it unites the three women involved in the translation production: Laura and Elizabeth have all these virtues as idealised women, and Anna presumably does too. Finally, the image suggests, in Dunnigan's words, 'Laura's emergence [as] and emancipation from

“unmarkt” anonymity to symbolic recognition’.⁵³ It projects the translator’s effort beyond her relationship with the dedicatee by directing it towards the fame, not of the poet, nor of the translator, nor of the dedicatee, but of the main protagonist of the poem, Laura. Hume’s version of the *Trionfi* seeks enfranchisement from its contextual frame—the Petrarchan inheritance, the celebratory value of these poems—and uses its paratext in order to re-establish a focus on the text.

Such a projection is reinforced by the last item in the prefatory materials, another very short poem: it is an address entitled ‘To the Reader’. It seems clear that this reader is not Princess Elizabeth: there is no address ‘to her Highnesse’, as there is in the first two, and no final salutation on the part of Hume. This third poem is cast in the form of a warning:

Reader, I have oft been told,
Verse that speak not Love, are cold.
I would gladly please thine eare,
But am loth to buy’t too deare.
And ’tis easier farre to borrow
Lovers tears, then feel their sorrow.
Therefore he hath furnish’t me,
Who had enough to serve all three.⁵⁴

At this point the prefatory material fully demonstrates its distance from the ‘Castalian’ model and moves towards a greater consciousness of the possibilities of print. The contrast with King James’s attitude in the early printing of his *Basilikon Doron* is striking: Hume is conscious that this book will go beyond both herself and the dedicatee, to reach a wide general readership.

Hume addresses the reader, once again, at the end of the translation, in an ‘Advertisement to the Reader’. This is the only time that she draws attention to herself, appearing to add something that was missing from the prefatory material:

The first title page should have told thee that all the three Triumphes were translated out of the *Italian*, a circumstance I considered not then, since it is thought necessary to say so much, I will now say more: I never saw them, nor any part of them, in any other language but *Italian*, except the poore words in which I have cloathed them. If they afford thee either profit or delight, I shall the more willingly bestow some of my new leasure hours on turning the other three Triumphes [sic], of *Fame*, *Time*, and *Divinitie* or *Heaven*. Farewell.⁵⁵

This afterword makes it even clearer that Hume has definitely moved from her intended primary reader, Princess Elizabeth, to a more generalised audience. She is here using a marketing strategy, the announcement of a forthcoming volume (a project that, as far as we know, never materialised), and insisting on the strong point of her translation, that is, the fact that it derives directly from the Italian original.⁵⁶ Fowler had also touched on this point in his dedication, although in very different terms; after noting that the beauty of Petrarch's lines had inspired him, he added:

especialle when as I perceawed, both in Frenche and English traductionis, this work not onelie traduced, bot evin as It war magled, and in everie member miserablie maimed and dismembered, besydis the barbar grosnes of boyth thair translationis, whiche I culd sett down by prwyf (wer not for prolixitie) in twoe hundredth passages and moe.⁵⁷

The allusion is to the English version by Henry Parker, Lord Morley, and to one of the three French versions preceding Fowler's Scottish one. These attacks against other literary efforts are of course meant to highlight Fowler's own superior outcome, but at the same time anchor his work yet again quite firmly to his time and his coterie. Hume instead isolates her translation in its unique relationship with the original, unlinking it from those that went before and emphasising its unique relationship with the original, showing once more her awareness of the printed text as an artefact that transcends its author and its scribal community.

While Fowler limits himself to one general Argument before the opening of the first Triumph, Hume inserts very short Arguments at the beginning of each book, and more conspicuous Annotations at the end. The Arguments, each consisting of a rhyming couplet, are visually highlighted: while the dedicatee's name is simply printed in larger characters, the Arguments are enclosed in a frame composed of fleurs-de-lis. Given that, especially in the first Triumph, Petrarch's division of the text into separate books is very complex, Hume's explanatory couplets are useful guides to the reader, as are the notes she appends to each book: these mostly explain mythological or literary allusions, often referring to an 'Italian Commentary' that has been identified as 'a combination of Bernardino Daniello da Lucca's 1549 edition of the *Trionfi* and that of Alessandro Vellutello (1545)'.⁵⁸ It has been noted that the annotations are 'not placed around the body of the main text as the traditional medieval or renaissance commentary',⁵⁹ or as they are in Evan Tyler's other printed translations

(see, for example, his *Psalms*); rather, they take the form of modern end-notes, and project Petrarch's text towards a readership that might have been less familiar with Greek mythology or the classical tradition. In this, Hume appears to have learnt the lesson of the early printed Italian editions of the *Trionfi*, which strove to make Petrarch's obscure allusions accessible to all readers.⁶⁰

It is impossible to decide whether Hume or her printer, Tyler, was responsible for the layout of the translation and the material articulation of its paratext. On the other hand, Fowler's attitude as a writer, as shown in the paratextual material of his *Trionfi* translation, may be attributed solely to him, as it reappears in other works: his dedications have the advantage of speaking clearly of himself, his literary project, and his relations with his scribal community. In the dedication of his earliest published work, *An Answer to M. Io. Hammiltoun*, he is pragmatic when addressing his dedicatee, the Earl of Bothwell, pointing out the latter's duty to *defend* and *protect* the writer:

For this hes bene ane daylie practise and an old custome at all tymes be thame obseruit, quha with grit trauel & earnest diligence hes profited in letters: that quhensoeuer at any tyme thay ar mindit to commit their labours vnto licht, they doharbour then vnder the countenance & couer them vnder the authority of sum noble personage mouit theirt to be dyuers considerations, pairtly to procure sum defence and protection to thair works. Pairtly to purches sum commendatioun to them selfs.⁶¹

Elsewhere, for example in the probably early, unfinished work *The Pest* (another work in which the paratext appears to have been given more time and care than the text, since what is extant is a dedication, a prologue, and an invocation, without a text proper), Fowler uses the dedicatory space to sketch his purpose and attitude as a writer. Thus, in his dedication 'To the Christian reidar', he writes:

I culd in following and in borrowing from others (lyk to the English wrytars who Intitulats Pair bookes with glorious inscriptionis of 'the Gorgeous gal- lerye of gallant Inventionis,' or 'the Paradice of dayntie dewysis') haif nicknamed the same also with 'the deplorable and more than Tragical dis- course of all the infernal furies'; bot that wer boythe vanitie and follye. I rest contented with the simple, naked, lothed titill, not thairbye to mak It more lothesum bot loued. yit if anye denye this Poeme passage for his name, let him gif it entrie and acces for the authoris intentioun.

Fowler's preoccupation with the paratext is evident in the tortuous explanation he gives for his unusually short title. He appears to be keenly aware of the value of titles in giving 'acces for the authoris intention'—a consciousness born of the age of printing,⁶² and carried by Fowler even in his manuscript works, or in works that were supposedly intended for limited circulation. The passage furthermore alludes to well-known contemporary works by English writers, such as Richard Edwards's *A Paradyse of Daynty Deuises* (1576), or Thomas Proctor's *A Gorgious Gallery, of Gallant Inuentions* (1578). As he mocks 'Inglish wrytars' who prefer 'glorious inscriptions' to simple titles, Fowler vindicates native Scottish talent against what may have been perceived, especially by a poet of international experience such as himself, as a dominant linguistic and cultural model—a theme that, as noted above, is also touched upon in the dedication of the *Trionfi*.⁶³

Where Fowler, building a careful presentation manuscript, devotes all his attention to the definition of his scribal community and the defence of his own role within it, Hume appears conscious of a different use of paratextual space: it becomes in her translation a site of argumentation and explanation, a locus of readerly debate which does not concern the status of the translation but deals directly with Petrarch's text, appearing to offer translation as simply the English-speaking reader's most accessible point of entry to the Italian original. Yet she might well have been exploiting the widely-used humility topos, for while she seems not to be seeking fame or glory for herself or her translation, she is at the same time making readers aware of its advantages and of her role as facilitator. As someone who apparently was already familiar with printing strategies in the work she undertook for her father's book, published in the same year as her Petrarch, Hume chooses in this work another, long-term strategy, the dissemination and circulation of her text, which would project her work beyond the immediate dedicatee, to a wider and less controllable circle of readers.

NOTES

1. Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), p. 3.
2. For the concept of scribal publication I am indebted to Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).

3. Printers, for example, could insert corrections and alterations during the publishing process, so that one copy might substantially differ from another, as demonstrated by the extant copies of Shakespeare's First Folio. See on this Eric Rasmussen and Anthony James West, *The Shakespeare First Folios: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
4. Genette, *Palimpsests*, p. 2.
5. Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts*, pp. 3–137.
6. Geoffrey Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, edited by Larry D. Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), I. 400–20.
7. *A Dialogue Between Reason and Adversity: A Late Middle English Version of Petrarch's De Remediis*, edited by F. N. M. Diekstra (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1968).
8. *Phisicke against fortune, aswell prosperous, as aduerse conteyned in two books ... Written in Latine by Frauncis Petrarch, a most famous poet, and oratour. And now first Englished by Thomas Twyne* (London: Printed by Thomas Dawson for Richard Watkyns, 1579).
9. The edition used here is *The Works of William Fowler*, Vol. 1, edited by Henry W. Meikle, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1914); henceforth *Works*. It uses the Drummond version throughout, noting important variants from the Hawthornden version.
10. The edition used is *The Triumphs of Love: Chastitie: Death: Translated out of Petrarch by Mrs Anna Hume* (Edinburgh: Evan Tyler, 1644).
11. The first formulation of the term 'Castalian poets' is due to Helena Mennie Shire in her *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969). The term has been used somewhat indiscriminately since, for which see Priscilla Bawcutt's important article: 'James VI's Castalian Band: A Modern Myth', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 80 (2001), 251–9.
12. Allison Steenson, "'My Method and My Muse': Reconsidering the Castalian Experiment, Edinburgh 1579–1587", *Tesi di laurea magistrale*, Università degli Studi di Padova, 2013–14, p. 107.
13. Alessandra Petrina, *Machiavelli in the British Isles: Two Early Modern Translations of The Prince* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 92–3 and passim.
14. The work has been edited in *The Works of William Fowler*, Vol. 2, edited by Henry W. Meikle, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1936), pp. 69–164, and more recently in Petrina, *Machiavelli in the British Isles*, pp. 137–99.
15. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MSS Hawthornden 2063–7. The contents are described in *The Works of William Fowler*, Vol. 3, edited by Henry W. Meikle, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1940), pp. xliii–xlix. The description is updated in Petrina, *Machiavelli in the British Isles*, pp. 101–11. The translation of the *Trionfi* is to be found in Hawthornden MS 2063, fols. 39^r–41^v.

16. Edinburgh University Library, Drummond MS De.1.10.
17. National Library of Scotland, Hawthornden MS 2063, fol. 37^r; on this fragment see Alessandra Petrina, 'Italian Influences at the Court of James VI: The Case of William Fowler', in *James VI and I, Literature and Scotland: Tides of Change, 1567–1625*, edited by David J. Parkinson (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), pp. 27–44.
18. Hawthornden MS 2064, fols. 1^r–4^v.
19. Petrina, *Machiavelli in the British Isles*, pp. 69–86.
20. The printer in both cases was Evan Tyler, in Edinburgh.
21. Sarah M. Dunnigan, 'Hume, Anna (fl. 1644)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14138>, accessed 22 July 2016.
22. Ronald G. Asch, 'Elizabeth, Princess (1596–1662)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8638>, accessed 27 July 2016.
23. Nona Fienberg, 'Mary Wroth and the Invention of Female Poetic Subjectivity', in *Reading Mary Wroth: Representing Alternatives in Early Modern England*, edited by Naomi Miller and Gary Waller (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), pp. 175–90 (p. 184).
24. It has been suggested (though not quite adequately proved) that this 'female', and Scottish, interest in the *Trionfi* may be in contrast with the fashion for the *Canzoniere*, 'the quintessence of secular (and masculine) love in England in the 1590s'. See Sarah M. Dunnigan, 'Scottish Women Writers c. 1560–c. 1650', in *A History of Scottish Women's Writing*, edited by Douglas Gifford and Dorothy McMillan (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 15–43 (p. 35).
25. *Tryumphes of Fraunces Petrarcke. Translated by Lord Morley*, edited by D. D. Carnicelli (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971).
26. Dunnigan, 'Hume, Anna (fl. 1644)'.
27. Fowler, *Works*, p. 16.
28. Fowler, *Works*, p. 17.
29. Fowler, *Works*, p. 18.
30. Theo Van Heijnsbergen, 'Coteries, Commendatory Verse and Jacobean Poetics: William Fowler's *Trivmphi of Petrarke* and its Castalian Circles', in *James VI and I, Literature and Scotland*, edited by Parkinson, pp. 45–63 (p. 53).
31. Van Heijnsbergen, 'Coteries, Commendatory Verse and Jacobean Poetics', pp. 54–6.
32. Fowler, *Works*, p. 9. For the identification of E.D. with Elizabeth Douglas, see Van Heijnsbergen, 'Coteries, Commendatory Verse and Jacobean Poetics', p. 58, and Sebastiaan Verweij, *The Literary Culture of Early Modern Scotland: Manuscript Production and Transmission, 1560–1625* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 84–7.

33. Maurice Lee jun., 'Maitland, John, first Lord Maitland of Thirlestane (1543–1595)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17826>, accessed 22 July 2014.
34. I wish to thank Alasdair A. MacDonald for discussing this point with me.
35. At some other stage of his career, Fowler would also compose some 'Verses, dedicated to the Ladie Thirlstane'; only their title survives, in the catalogue of the books belonging to Fowler's nephew, the poet William Drummond of Hawthornden. See Robert MacDonald, *The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971), item 1360.
36. See Van Heijnsbergen, 'Coteries, Commendatory Verse and Jacobean Poetics', who adds that Fowler could thus 'shoe-horn Jean's husband as well as the king into his dedication' (p. 48).
37. 'An English observer commented in 1589 that she was "a wise woman and half chancellor when he is at home", although this was a rare comment on her involvement in politics'. See Sharon Adams, 'Fleming, Jean, countess of Cassilis (1553/4–1609)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69902>, accessed 22 July 2014.
38. Fowler, *Works*, p. 17.
39. Fowler, *Works*, p. 16.
40. Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts*, p. 33.
41. As claimed by Rab Houston in 'The Literacy Myth? Illiteracy in Scotland 1630–1760', *Past & Present*, 96 (1982), 81–102. For an overall view of reading practices in early modern Scotland (although it focuses mainly on the seventeenth century) see Jane Stevenson, 'Reading, Writing and Gender in Early Modern Scotland', *The Seventeenth Century*, 27 (2012), 335–74.
42. Jane Rickard, 'John Donne, James I and the Dilemmas of Publication', in *Negotiating the Jacobean Printed Book*, edited by Pete Langman (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 89–100 (p. 91).
43. For a modern edition of the *Roland Furios* (Baldynneis's translation of Ariosto) and its paratextual material see Donna Heddle, *John Stewart of Baldynneis Roland Furios: A Scots Poem in its European Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2008). An edition of the whole manuscript is forthcoming for the Scottish Text Society, edited by Kate A. McClune.
44. The edition used is *The Basilicon Doron of King James VI*, edited by James Craigie, Scottish Text Society (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1944). Craigie prints the three texts (from the manuscript and the 1599 and 1603 editions) and discusses the presence of unauthorised editions in his Introduction.
45. Fowler, *Works*, p. 15.

46. In the Preface to his translation of du Bartas's *Judith*, Thomas Hudson writes that he translated the poem in answer to a specific request on the part of James VI; the king himself translated du Bartas's *Uranie*, while du Bartas, probably during a visit to Scotland, translated the king's epic poem *Lepanto*. See Helena Mennie Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry at the Court of Scotland under King James VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 96–9.
47. National Library of Scotland, MS Hawthornden 2063, fol. 4^r.
48. Fowler, *Works*, p. 81.
49. Hume, *Triumphs*, sig. A2^{r-v}.
50. Fowler, *Works*, p. 16.
51. Hume, *Triumphs*, sig. A3^r.
52. Hume, *Triumphs*, sig. A3^v.
53. Sarah M. Dunnigan, 'Daughterly Desires: Representing and Reimagining the Feminine in Anna Hume's *Triumphs*', in *Woman and the Feminine in Medieval and Early Modern Scottish Writing*, edited by Sarah M. Dunnigan, C. Marie Harker, and Evelyn S. Newlyn (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 120–35 (p. 125). If there was an anti-Catholic allusion in the choice of the word *cloister*, there is some irony in the fact that the eldest daughter of the dedicatee of the translation, also named Princess Elizabeth, would become 'abbess of the protestant ecclesiastical community of Herford' (Ronald G. Asch, 'Elizabeth, Princess (1596–1662)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69902>, accessed 22 July 2014).
54. Hume, *Triumphs*, sig. A3.
55. Hume, *Triumphs*, pp. 99–100.
56. This claim is contested by R. D. S. Jack, who in *The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1972), pp. 81–2, states that there are a number of similarities between Hume's version and Fowler's (only two are actually mentioned). In this he is supported by Thomas P. Roche, who in the Introduction to his edition of Hume (pp. xi–xii) makes reference to a misreading (Phaeton for Titon) occurring in Morley's, Fowler's, and Hume's translations.
57. Fowler, *Works*, p. 16.
58. Dunnigan, 'Hume, Anna (fl. 1644)'.
59. Dunnigan, 'Scottish Women Writers', pp. 36–7.
60. The most obvious example is Alessandro Vellutello's edition of the *Canzoniere* and *Trionfi*, first printed in Venice in 1525 with the title *Il Petrarca con l'espositione di M. Alessandro Velutello* and often reprinted. Vellutello inserted a detailed introduction, with a life of Petrarch, a life of Laura, and a map of the Vaucluse, the region where the poet and his love met. Besides, Vellutello provided detailed notes for each poem.

61. Fowler, *The Works of William Fowler*, Vol. 2, p. 9.
62. Although very few of Fowler's works were printed in his lifetime, the evidence offered by the surviving manuscripts shows that he was keenly interested in preparing frontispieces, colophons, and other paratexts, even for works he never actually wrote. On a number of occasions, such paratextual elements closely imitate contemporary printing practices, as is highlighted by his collaboration with the scribe and calligrapher John Geddie. See Verweij, *The Literary Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, pp. 93–101.
63. See Alessandra Petrina, 'Translation and Ideology in the Scotland of James VI: The Case of William Fowler', *Storia e Politica*, 1 (2009), 228–50.



Marketing *Utopia*: The Protean Paratexts in Ralph Robinson's English Translation

Gabriela Schmidt

Thomas More's *Utopia* is no doubt an exceptional case in the early history of print: a true international bestseller that went through five editions in four different countries within three years of its appearance and was within decades translated into five different vernaculars, it displayed from the beginning such a high degree of textual *mouvance* that one critic has spoken of the 'theoretical impossibility of producing an edition'.¹ Ironically, as Terence Cave's extensive documentation of the book's pan-European trajectory has shown, it was precisely this protean elusiveness that allowed the text to survive, endowing it with a potential to 'adapt itself to the interests and tastes of its new readers to an extent that very few other works of the period can rival'.²

Readers' expectations have indeed been perceived in more recent criticism on the remarkably fluid paratexts of the earliest Latin editions as the crucial motivating factor. In a perceptive reassessment, Elizabeth McCutcheon resists the familiar commonplace of an elitist humanist coterie that the *parerga*'s ironic play appears to evoke and chooses instead to focus on the different 'experience' each successive edition would have cre-

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ated for the early modern reader: in her account, the text thus effortlessly metamorphoses from experimental semi-fictional ‘trompe l’oeil’ into ‘pragmatic handbook’ and finally, packaged with More’s 1518 collection of *Epigrams*, into a ‘large-scale work’, something like a classic.³ As a result of this process, *Utopia* in its first two years of existence not only effortlessly straddled national borders but also effectively tapped into different readerships and markets. Examined in this way, *Utopia*’s *parerga* indeed provide an excellent example of what Helen Smith and Louise Wilson have described as the characteristic metamorphic effect of early modern paratextual material, working both outwards, in managing a text’s reception, and inwards, in shifting its tone, conceptual priorities, and generic affiliations.⁴

The need for such shape-shifting would have been even more urgent in 1551, when the first English translation of More’s ‘fruteful and plesaunt worke’ arrived on the literary scene. Only sixteen years separated the book’s publication from its author’s execution, and the political climate in the immediate aftermath of a 1549 wave of anti-enclosure riots (commonly known as Kett’s Rebellion) seemed anything but favourable for its reception. Nevertheless, Ralph Robinson’s English *Utopia* not only successfully evaded its Edwardine censors but in fact established itself as something like a classic of its own: regardless of the religious and political sea-changes of the period, it was reissued no fewer than four times under four successive regimes, persisting without rivals until well into the Restoration period.⁵ To facilitate this remarkable resilience, the changing paratexts of each edition obviously had to refashion the work’s message and its author’s image according to the concerns of each new religious-political milieu. However, rather than dwelling mainly on the discontinuities, I would like suggest in this chapter that an examination of the work’s paratexts within the context of other published translations of the period reveals just as much about the issues and trends that continued to shape readers’ expectations. In effectively exploiting *Utopia*’s generic hybridity, the protean paratexts of Robinson’s translation make it at the same time topical enough to suit each new regime’s cultural agenda and wide enough in scope to ensure its continuing appeal and persistent marketability.

* * *

When Robinson’s translation first appeared on the literary market as a rather unpretentious octavo volume in 1551, it presented itself as an

emphatically political text: *A fruteful and pleasaunt worke of the beste state of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called utopia*.⁶ Although at first sight the title might perhaps appear little more than a literal rendering of More's original,⁷ Phil Withington has drawn attention to the fact that we cannot but read the book's prominent advancement of the term 'publique weal' within a larger mid-century trend, as the beginning vernacularisation of the Latin concept *res publica* stimulated public debate about the nature of 'commonwealth' on an unprecedented scale. The English *Utopia* was in fact one among a whole variety of non-legal publications at the time to express the concept in its title, among them anonymous pamphlets such as *A Ruful Complaynt of the publyke weale to Englande* (c.1550),⁸ pseudo-religious exhortations, such as the anonymous 1549 *The prayse and commendacion of suche as sought comenwealthes: and to the contrary, the ende and discommendacion of such as sought priuate welthes*,⁹ and more conventional political treatises such as Thomas Smith's *A Discourse of the Commonweal of this Realm of England* (written, though not yet published, in 1549)¹⁰ or John Cheke's *The hurt of sedicion: howe greueous it is to a commune welth* (1549).

Although quite a number of these works, notably those by Thomas Smith, clearly register the influence of More's original Latin *Utopia*,¹¹ the question of where to place Robinson's translation within what Withington calls this 'crucible of social and semantic struggle' continues to be a matter of debate.¹² One group of critics, among whom most notably David Weil Baker, places the text firmly at the more radical end of the political spectrum. Baker sees Robinson's choice of words, such as the insertion of the term 'Godly gouernement' into the title of Book II (a term that the translator would later modify into 'politike gouernement'), as an implicit indication that he sympathises with populist religious-political reformers (or 'commonwealth men'). Their rhetoric, although officially sanctioned by the social reform efforts of Protector Somerset, nevertheless indirectly fuelled the Norfolk rebellions of 1549 that eventually led to Somerset's downfall. In Baker's reading, Robinson's tactical move to dedicate the book to the recently politically rehabilitated William Cecil, as well as his attempt to shift the 'daunger' of his 'bolde and rashe enterprise' (sig. ¶v^r) onto his friend, the haberdasher George Tadlowe, reveal his share in the commonwealth men's subsequent efforts to exonerate themselves from charges of political radicalism, while still attempting to maintain 'the possibility of radical religious critique of social structures without necessarily countenancing rebellion'.¹³

This view of Robinson's *Utopia* as a 'popular', or even populist, 'fiction' designed, according to Joshua Phillips, for an uneducated citizen readership has been vigorously contested by Jennifer Bishop, who foregrounds the prominent involvement in the official institutions of local and national government of Robinson's commissioner George Tadlowe and other figures connected with the work. Even though it is advertised on the title-page as having been translated by a 'Citizein and Goldsmythe of London' and commissioned by a 'Citizein & Haberdassher of the same Citie', it should be read, she argues, not as an expression of popular disaffection with the political establishment, but as part of a 'wider contemporary trend that saw citizens taking an increasingly active role in the creation and enactment of legislation' and a 'participatory culture' that engendered 'open discussion of social, economic, religious and political topics'.¹⁴ An active part within this discursive culture was arguably played by the Cambridge circle of humanists around Thomas Smith and John Cheke, whose intention it was, as Phil Withington observes, to wrest the concept of 'commonwealth' out of the hands of political radicals and forge it into a more moderate ideal of mutual cooperation for the common good.¹⁵ Read in this light, Robinson's dedication of the volume to Cheke's former student Cecil appears, not as an indication of political opportunism or an implicit bid for financial support,¹⁶ but as Robinson's earnest wish to be associated with the programme of a literary circle, one of whose 'figure-heads' the royal secretary was perceived to be.¹⁷

That translations seem to have had no inconsiderable share within this programme is evident not least from the output of the former king's printer Thomas Berthelet. In 1551, Berthelet produced a new edition of Thomas Paynell's 1541 version of Sallust's *Conspiracie of Catiline* (STC 10751), whose prefatory letter to Henry VIII had likened Catiline's rebellion to more recent political upheavals, probably with a view to the 1536 Pilgrimage of Grace. Yet the conclusion drawn towards the end of the preface seems just as fitting for mid-century events and it lays special emphasis on the desired role learned counsellors were to play in the preservation of the commonwealth: 'by the wisdom, prudence, and dyligence of a few good and virtuous men, that then ruled the common weale, he [Catiline] and all his confederates were ouerthrowen and cleane subdued' (sig. Aii^r). For mid-century readers this would recall the educated aristocracy envisioned in Thomas Elyot's *Boke named the Governour*, a new edition of which Berthelet had only just brought out in 1546 (STC 7638);¹⁸ but it would also remind them of the learned and wise counsellors

in Smith's more recent and participatory *Discourse of the Commonweal*.¹⁹ Other translations from classical and humanist sources Berthelet published during these years also revolve around the same theme of civic political education. If the STC's estimated publication dates are reliable, in 1550 alone he issued a new edition of Thomas Elyot's Isocrates translation, *The doctrinal of princes* (STC 14279), a new edition of Richard Morison's translation of Juan Luis Vives's *Introduction to wisdom* (STC 24849), bound together with Elyot's *Banket of sapience* and Paynell's translation of Agapetus's *Preceptes* into a veritable handbook of statecraft, a new edition of Xenophon's *Treatise of householde* by Gentian Hervet (STC 26073), and a version of Cicero's *Booke of freendeship* by the elder John Harington (STC 5276).²⁰ Examined as a body, these publications constitute what almost appears like a programmatic project; and I would like to argue that it is with this, or similar projects, that Robinson wished to associate himself when he compared his enterprise in his preface (via Lucian) to the philosopher Diogenes 'tumblyng [his] tubbe', while 'learned men dayly [were] putting forth in writing newe inventions, & deuises to the furtheraunce of the [commonwealth]' (sigs. *ii^v–iii^r).

The most obvious companion piece for Robinson's English *Utopia* among Berthelet's publications is of course Thomas Chaloner's *Praise of folie* from 1549 (STC 10500). In what might very well be interpreted as an implicit appeal to a citizen readership, Chaloner, a courtier, diplomat, and lifelong friend of William Cecil's, invests Erasmus's *Moria* with 'an englishe liuerey' (sig. Aii^r).²¹ Folly's message in Chaloner's reading is, however, by no means an egalitarian one: it is the work's purpose, he contends, 'to persuade (if it might be) a certaine contentacion in euerie man, to holde hym agreed with suche lotte and state of liuyng, as ariseth to hym. [...] In as muche as the highest god, who made vs all of one earth, hath natheles chosen some to rule, and more to serue' (sig. Aiii^r). This seems a far cry from the levelling rhetoric of Robinson's Hythlodæus, who famously denounces all existing commonwealths as 'a certain conspiracy of riche men procuringe theire owne commodities' (sig. Si^r). It is for this reason that David Weil Baker reads the two works as diametrically opposed to each other and in fact considers Robinson's translation as the marginalised odd man out among its humanist competitors: 'Despite Robinson's attempt to affiliate his *Utopia* with the productions of other learned men, in 1551 his translation might have seemed as isolated and vain an act as Diogenes' tub-rolling.'²²

Is this, however, really the case? A somewhat closer look at another contemporary translation makes us at least feel some doubt about Baker's facile dichotomies. Perhaps the most lavish and ostentatiously authoritative of all humanist translations from the classics during this period is Thomas Nicolls's *Thucydides* of 1550, translated from an intermediary French version by Claude de Seyssel (STC 24056). It was produced in large folio format with a richly decorated title-page featuring the Tudor coat of arms and the royal initials E[duardus] R[ex]. This was followed by a royal privilege granted to 'our faythfull & welbeloued subiect Thomas Nicolls' for the space of seven years (sig. Aii^r). The volume is dedicated to his former tutor John Cheke, who was also Royal school-master at the time, which is why the book counted among the volumes specifically bought for the young king's perusal.²³ Nicolls belonged by no means, however, to the circle of learned counsellors at court, although he had studied Greek with Cheke at Cambridge, but was in fact, like Robinson, a 'Citizeine and Goldesmyth of London', a position he advertises just as prominently on the title-page as his colleague does his (Figs. 8.1 and 8.2).

Like Robinson, Nicolls topically dwells on his modest learning in his dedicatory epistle, asking Cheke 'to amende and correct' the work according to his 'exacte lernynge and knolaige' (sig. Aiii^r). He then inserts three further dedicatory epistles: the first is by the royal secretary Jacques Colin (Cecil's French counterpart in Seyssel's time), another by Claude de Seyssel, whose French translation, as we said, provided Nicolls's source text, and a third by Lorenzo Valla, from whose Latin translation Seyssel's French version derived. The first two firmly establish Nicolls's place within the conventional discourse of humanist education at court. They both emphasise the value of histories in general and *Thucydides* in particular as a source of wisdom and practical knowledge for governors: 'A man maye take and vse the teachings [found in them] to the profit of the common welthe and education of himselfe' (sig. [Avi]^r). Lorenzo Valla's prologue, by contrast, is somewhat unexpected in character and much more attuned to the tastes of a citizen readership. In praising his own enterprise as a translator, he uses military, and above all, mercantile imagery, likening it to 'a marchandyse of right precious wares'. And he hastens to explain:

I do not compare it vnto a small thyng, whan I compare it vnto marchandyse, [...] whiche founrysheth men of that, that is conuenient for theyr luyng and nurriture [...]. Inso greate habundaunce, that by meane therof

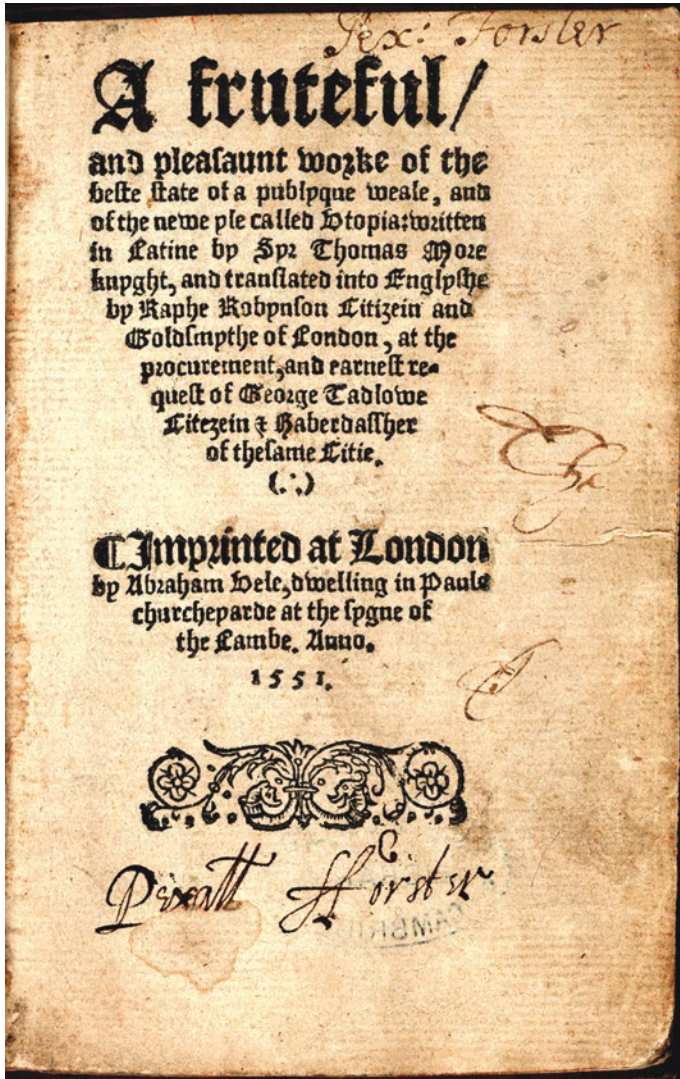


Fig. 8.1 *A fruteful, and pleasaunt worke of the beste state of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called Vtopia* [...] translated into Englyshe by Raphe Robynson (London: [S. Mierdman for] Abraham Vele, 1551), title-page. Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge (shelfmark: Capell Z.8)

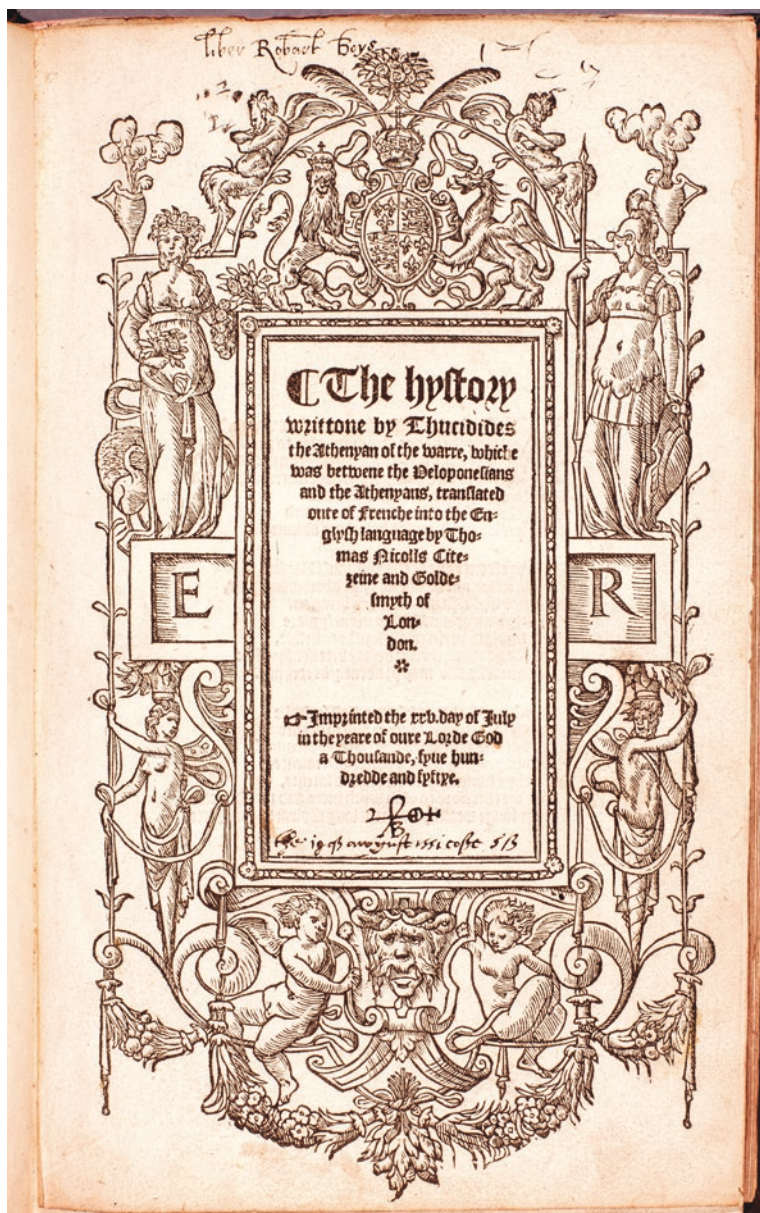


Fig. 8.2 *The hystory writtونه by Thucydides the Athenyan of the warre, whiche was betwene the Peloponesians and the Athenyans, translated oute of Frenche into the Englysh language by Thomas Nicolls* (London: William Tylle, 1550), title-page. Rare books 60100, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California

[...] all thynges be euery where common, in suche sorte, as in a manner, men were (as the saying is) in the goldenne worlde. Lykewyse doth the translatyon of bokes. (sig. C^r)

Translation as a global redistribution of ‘private’ intellectual property to usher in a new golden age—this sounds indeed decidedly Utopian.

Nicolls’s Thucydides and Robinson’s *Utopia* form an unlikely pair: one is a sumptuous folio issued with recommendations from the highest political ranks; the other is a modest octavo volume whose author constructs himself as ‘a persona that appears unwilling to engage with the process of publication at all’.²⁴ Nevertheless, Robinson, when preparing his book for publication, cannot but have been aware of his fellow guildsman’s precedent a year before; and it is highly possible that in formulating his own credentials, he was deliberately copying from Nicolls’s title-page. What I would like to suggest, then, is that placing Robinson’s work within the context of other contemporary translation paratexts complicates our picture of the mid-century literary scene. The signals such paratexts send out to their readers are rarely unambiguous, often contradictory, and they certainly cut across many of the distinctions that have hitherto been introduced to chart the field: that between Baker’s ‘popularizers’ and conservatives, that between citizen and humanist literary circles, or indeed that between the more satirical, ‘Lucianic’ approach of Oxford men and the more serious, ‘Isocratic’ approach of Cambridge men posited by Neil Rhodes in his recent study of early Tudor translations from the Greek.²⁵ Perhaps it is precisely the multiple allegiances implicit in its paratexts that made the English *Utopia* maintain its place in readers’ affections for so long, even despite its unflattering presentation.

* * *

To ensure the topical appeal of his work, Robinson not only relied on the immediate relevance of its political message, but above all on the popularity of its author, whom he invokes as ‘a man of late tyme, yea almost of this our dayes’ (sig. xiii^v). In making More’s reputation central to his marketing strategy, Robinson, however, encounters an obvious crux:

[I]t is much to be lamented of al [...] that a man of so incomparable witte, of so profounde knowledge, of so absolute learning, & of so fine eloquence was yet neuerthelesse so much blinded, rather with obstinacie, then with

ignorance that he could not or rather would not see the shining light of
godes holy truthe in certain principal pointes of Christian religion: but did
rather chuse to perseuer, & continue in his wilfull & stubbourne obstinacie
euen to the very death. (sigs. xiii^v–xiv^r)

Although the fraught issue of the Royal Supremacy behind the ‘certain principal pointes of Christian religion’ is never explicitly mentioned, Robinson’s very foregrounding of the notions of ‘wilfulness’ and ‘obstinacy’ in this passage would immediately have recalled to contemporary readers the key parameters of what in scholarship on the period has become known as ‘the pseudomartyr debate’.²⁶ It would also have instantly signalled Robinson’s position in it, since these terms had from the very moment of More’s trial and death advanced into something like watchwords for the defenders of the king. So had the pointed opposition between More’s formidable learning and his ‘foolish’ decision to persevere in error.²⁷ Thus Thomas Starkey, in his 1536 *Exhortation to the people, instructynge theym to unitie and obedience*, laments ‘the moste dyvellyshe effecte of superstition, whiche induced men of such lernynge, of suche wytte, and suche perfectness of religion [...] so to be disobediente to common authoritie, & so wilfully to repugne against the same’. In Robinson’s own time, Robert Crowley’s 1550 polemical edition of *Piers Plowman* railed against More, Fisher, and the other Henrician martyrs as ‘the obstinate nacyon’.²⁸

What had been a liability for Robinson in 1551 would, of course, become a major asset for his second edition in 1556. With Mary’s accession the Henrician martyrs took centre-stage in the government’s programme of Catholic restoration and re-education. Eamon Duffy suggests that this was above all due to the growing influence of Cardinal Pole, whose *De Unitate* had been one of the most original and formative voices in the post 1535 debates on More’s trial; as a result More and Fisher were converted into key national symbols of God’s providential care and models of wisdom and steadfastness.²⁹ Key to Pole’s agenda and that of his circle were, according to Duffy, two points in particular: that of dismantling the image of Henry VIII to ensure a return, not just to Henrician Catholicism, but to full Papal Supremacy, and that of debunking Protestant martyr claims by presenting More, Fisher, and the Carthusian fathers as an alternative, authentic type of martyr.

Pole’s influence in Marian discourse and publishing culture reaches its zenith in 1556, and it is in this year that More and Fisher begin to be ‘in

the air in official and semi-official utterances', such as Miles Huggarde's *Displaying of the Protestantes*, James Cancellar's *Pathe of obedience*, or Henry Cole's sermon at the burning of Thomas Cranmer.³⁰ It is also at this point that Pole's activities converge with those of the More circle around the figures of William Rastell, William Roper, Nicholas Harpsfield, and the printer Richard Tottell. Duffy argues for a dating of both the writing of Roper's short memoir and of Harpsfield's full-blown biography that was to accompany Rastell's monumental folio of More's *English Workes* to 1556; he speculates that the project might even have been directly commissioned by Pole and goes on to conclude that, not only were the venture of restoring More's private memory and Pole's wider project of Catholic restoration closely connected, but we should read Harpsfield's *Life* in fact as the most successful of all Marian martyrdom polemics.³¹

If making More's life and writings available as a model for the English laity was thus one of the spearheads of official propaganda from 1556, what, then, was the role of Robinson's *Utopia* within this larger scheme? It has been argued that, other than in Rastell's 1557 *Workes*, the new regime's agenda is never explicitly mentioned in the English *Utopia* and that the changes Robinson introduces into his second edition were hence driven, not primarily by religious, but by commercial motives: those of making the text appeal to a more sophisticated readership.³² That these two agendas were, however, by no means opposed to each other, but intimately connected, if not altogether identical, will become clear from a closer look at both Robinson's alterations and the character of the Rastell/Tottell enterprise.

At first sight the majority of Robinson's changes seem to be concerned primarily with his own image as a translator: instead of a 'Citizein and Goldsmythe of London' he now styles himself on the title-page a 'some-time fellowe of Corpus Christi College in Oxford'. The commissioning haberdasher Tadowe is entirely excised from the work, and in the preface (addressed, not to a powerful patron but to the 'gentle reader', and garnished with Latin verses from Terence), Robinson even blames the weaknesses of his first version on the ill-formed judgement of his friend, '[t]o the meanesse of whose learninge I thoughte it my part to submit, and attemper my stile' (sig. Aii^{r-v}). He accordingly declares to have remedied the work's 'meanesse' through extensive revisions, and a comparative examination of the two versions indeed confirms this claim: thus, for example, 'buylded up' (1551, sig. Di^v) is replaced by 're-edified' (1556, sig. Dii^v), 'make noughte' (1551, sig. [Fviii]^r) by 'peruerte' (1556, sig. [Fviii]^v),

and ‘laughter’ (1551, sig. [Gvi]^v) by ‘derision’ (1556, sig. [Gvii]^r). In addition, Robinson ‘augments’ his text with marginal notes, a learned addition that he duly advertises on the title-page. Some are translations from More’s original, others proceed from Robinson’s own pen; among the latter, several seem designed to emphasise the ‘historicity’ and ‘Englishness’ of Book I, others add a certain moralising note, especially when flagging More’s criticism of social ills, such as ‘Excesse in apparell and diet a maintainer of beggery and thefte’ (sig. Diir) or ‘The corrupte education of youth a mother of theuery’ (sig. Dii^v).

In his book’s new packaging, Robinson seems, however, not only keen to stress his own learning, but above all that of his author, whom he now praises in the title as ‘right worthie and famous’, while the work as a whole is introduced, not only as ‘fruteful and plesant’, but also as ‘wittie’. More’s religious convictions, on the other hand, are not even mentioned once, which is all the more surprising since the book was now produced, not by Stephen Mierdman, but by Richard Tottell—in the very same year in which the campaign for promoting More and Fisher as ‘protomartyrs of the laity’ was nearing its climax. It would have been all too easy for Robinson to pointedly turn the charge of ‘obstinacy’, which was still being used as a key term in official discourse on martyrdom, against its own originators.³³ Apparently, however, the man he was bent on foregrounding was More, the humanist, not More, the martyr.

Yet were these two really separable? In More’s own conception of martyrdom, as it emerges from his prison writings and controversies, they clearly were not. More’s martyr was, in Anne Dillon’s words, ‘a humanist man or woman of reason and learning’ who died, after thorough consideration of all possibilities for escape, for the orthodoxy of his beliefs, whereas reformist martyrs ‘lacked judgement and reason’.³⁴ It was precisely these criteria from More’s own work that were taken over by Marian authors in their fashioning of him as a model for an educated lay readership. Both Harpsfield and Rastell lay equal stress on More’s martyrdom and on his humanist learning, with Rastell declaring in the dedicatory epistle to the *Workes* that More’s writings

be worthy to be hadde and redde of euerye Englishe man, that is studious or desirous to know and learne, not onelye the eloquence and propertie of the English tonge, but also the trewe doctrine of Christes catholike fayth, [...] or the godly morall vertues that appertaine to the framing and fourminge of mennes maners and consciences, to liue a virtuous and deuout christen life[.]³⁵

More's humanism was thus not only inseparable from his status as a martyr, it was absolutely crucial to Tottell's and Rastell's strategy for presenting him as a new type of Catholic martyr-sage.

This is where Robinson's *Utopia* enters the picture again. Once we have dispensed with the notion of More's humanism being an alternative to his martyrdom and ceased to look for open references to Marian Catholicism, the concerns of the new regime indeed turn out to shape the text—and Robinson's alterations to it—in more ways than one. This starts with almost imperceptible details, such as the rephrasing of More's excuse for his own ignorance about the precise location of Utopia in the preface to Giles from 'I had be good then *wise* rather' (1551, sig. A^r) into 'I had rather be good then *wilie*' (1556, sig. [A^vi]^r, my emphasis);³⁶ or the retitling of More's Latin *Pontifex* (CW 4, p. 42) as 'hieghe Byshoppe' (1556, sig. [A^vii]^r) instead of just 'byshoppe' (1551, sig. A^r). Marian concerns are, however, most evident in the section on Utopian religion. Where More uses the term *coenobia* to refer to Christian communities in which property is still common (CW 4, p. 218)—a word that is translated in both editions rather ambiguously as 'the rightest Christian companies'—Robinson specifies this in a 1556 marginal note to mean 'Religious houses' (sig. Qⁱⁱ). Where More comments on the Utopians' harsh reaction to overzealous preaching, Robinson replaces the original note, *Laude trahendi sunt homines ad religionem* (CW 4, p. 218), with 'Seditious reasoners punished' (sig. Qⁱⁱⁱ, my emphasis). Other of his marginalia foreground parallels with traditional (and contentious) features of Catholic practice and doctrine, such as 'Miracles' (sig. [Q^{vi}]^r), 'Churcheis of dimme light and a reason why' (sig. Rⁱⁱ), or 'Ceremonies' (sig. Rⁱⁱⁱⁱ). Where the original marginalia tend to have a satirical thrust critical of established religion, Robinson replaces them with neutral, or even laudatory remarks, for example glossing More's comment on the virtuous living of Utopian priests with 'The maiestie and preeminence of priestes' (sig. Rⁱ) instead of translating the original note, *At apud nos quanta turba est*—'But What a Mob There Is among Us!' (CW 4, pp. 228–9).

One passage, finally, although it had already been present in the 1551 version, would have acquired entirely different overtones in 1556. When the Utopians hear Hythlodæus and his companions speak of Christianity, the chief reason why they immediately accept it is the 'wonderful constancie of so manye martyrs, whose bloude wyllinglye shedde broughte a great nombre of nations throughoute all partes of the worlde into their sect' (sig. Qⁱ). By means of Robinson's new cladding, More's *Utopia* has thus turned into something much more effective than an overt piece of Marian propaganda. It is a manifest proof to its readers that More, the eminent

humanist and statesman, and More, the steadfast martyr for his faith, were indeed one and the same person.

The close interconnection between humanist learning and religious propaganda in Tottell's promotion of More becomes even more evident when we consider his Morean publications within the context of other works he and his associates brought forth during the same years. The first among More's works to be issued with haste in November 1553 was his *Dialogue of comfort*, written in the Tower shortly before his execution and circulating ever since in manuscript among his family and friends.³⁷ As I have argued elsewhere, Tottell's elaborate title-page border was a carefully designed comment on the text's emblematic role within contemporary discussions on More's martyrdom:³⁸ it depicts the tragic episode of Pyramus and Thisbe from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which in its Ovidian context narrates the aetiological origin of the mulberry tree (*morus*). In the emblematic tradition, for example in Alciato, the mulberry stands for considerate wisdom and is often contrasted with the 'rash' and 'inconsiderate' almond tree, whose early buds often fall victim to the last frost. Tottell, in whose title border the blood-red mulberry is prominently visible at the top, cannot but have been aware of this tradition and of the fact that Alciato also makes ironic use of the obvious pun on the Greek word for 'fool' (*moros*) that More and Erasmus both delighted in. That Tottell's presentation was hence intended to present the *Dialogue of comfort* as a piece of martyr literature seems evident.

What is much more surprising is the fact that Tottell uses the same title-page woodcut for an entirely different text: John Brende's translation of Quintus Curtius's *Historie of Alexander*, which had first been published with a different title-page some time before Mary's accession, in May 1553 (STC 6141.5). Tottell issues the text again towards the end of the year in precisely the same layout as More's *Dialogue of comfort* (STC 6142 and 6142.5) (Figs. 8.3 and 8.4). Brende's work seems an unlikely choice with which to associate More's text, since it is dedicated to one of the key players in the Edwardine government, John Dudley, the Earl of Northumberland. However, Brende had also been among the first to declare his loyalty to the new queen and remained one of her key military strategists,³⁹ so in matching More's text with his, Tottell may well have been evoking precisely the same idea of selfless humanist service to the state that plays such a prominent role in *Utopia* (and indeed in More's own self-presentation as 'the King's faithful servant').

If we broaden the picture still further, it is indeed surprising how many classical translations, even though they were apparently unconcerned with



Fig. 8.3 *A dialogue of comfort against tribulation, made by Syr Thomas More Knyght* ... (London: Richard Tottell, 1553), title-page. Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge (shelfmark: Grylls.3.229)

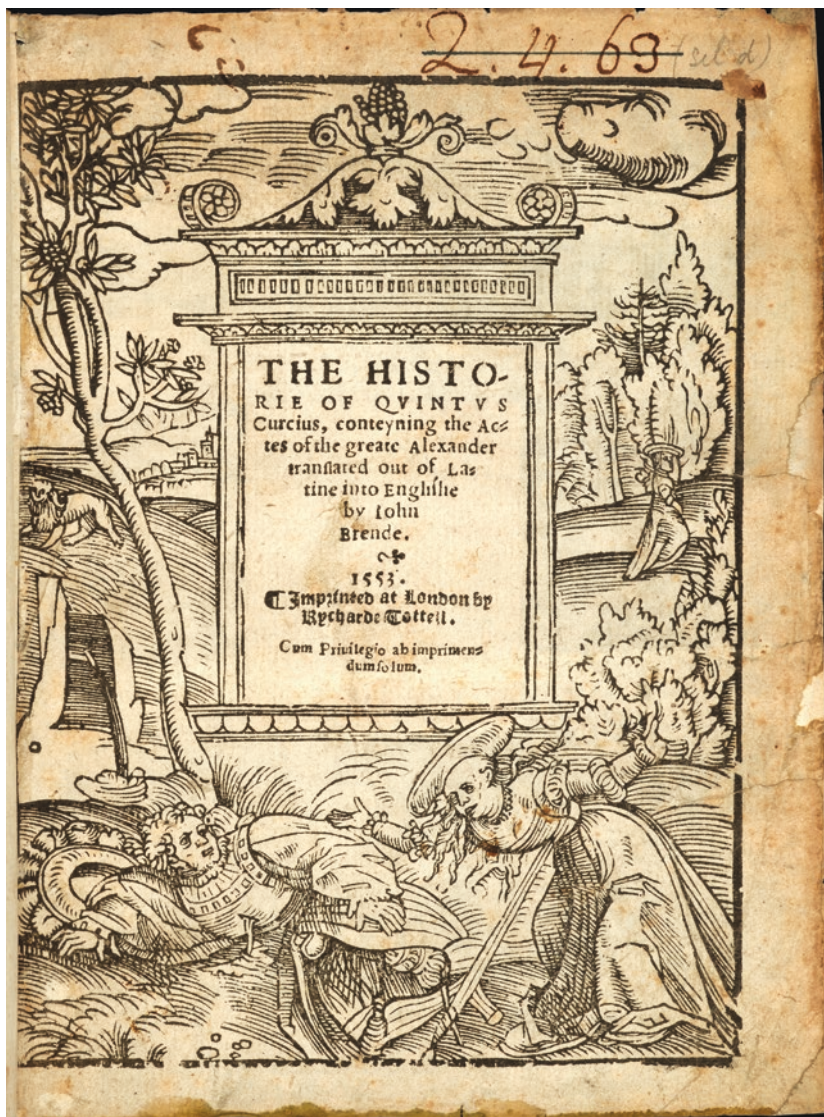


Fig. 8.4 *The history of Quintus Curcius, conteyning the actes of the greate Alexander translated out of Latine into Englishe by Iohn Brende* (London: Richard Tottell, 1553), title-page. Reproduced by permission of Cambridge University Library (shelfmark: Peterborough.g.4.2)

religious themes, can be traced to one of the figures participating in the project of More's *Workes*. John Cawood, the queen's printer, for example, issues a new translation of Boethius, *The boke called the comforte of philosophye*, by George Colvile (or Coldewell) in 1556 (STC 3201)—a work that resonates heavily with More's *Dialogue of comfort*, both in form and content. John Walley, the third printer mentioned on the *Workes*' title-page, produces a new edition in 1557 of Thomas Paynell's translation of Sallust, *The conspiracie of Catiline*, which he bound together with Alexander Barclay's earlier version of the work, *The historye of Jugurth* (STC 10752). Although, astonishingly, Paynell's original dedicatory epistle of his *Catiline* to Henry VIII is retained, including Henry's title of 'in earthe supreme heade immediately vnder Christe of the churche of England' (sig. Aii^r), Paynell's second dedication of Barclay's *Jugurth* to Viscount Montague lays strong emphasis on the latter's staunch Catholicism, as he 'hathe at all tymes, and against all the rablemente of heretykes sustained, and most constantly and Christianly auauanced the catholyke fayth of our Sauour and redeemer Jesus Christ' (sig. [Yvii]^{r-v}). While this was being written, Paynell was also busy compiling the 'militantly-Catholic' index for the *Workes of Thomas More*.⁴⁰ Finally, Tottell himself, in 1556, produces Nicholas Grimald's famous version of Cicero's *De officiis* (STC 5281), for which he uses the same title-page border that Berthelet had already employed in his above-mentioned editions of Elyot's *Gouernour* and *Doctrinal of princes*. Grimald's epistle, 'N.G. to the reader', has strong Elyotan echoes: 'the nobilitie in the common gouernment, like reason in the nature of man, shall rule all the multitude. That thing also dothe Tullie touche in this treatise: and showeth men in authoritie theyr duties' (sig. ¶¶1^{r-v}). That the issue of martyrdom is, however, not far from Grimald's mind when he thinks of Cicero is evident from his 1557 poem on 'Marcus Tullius Ciceroes death', which concludes the second edition of *Tottell's Miscellany*. Although Christopher Warner sees the decision to move this poem to the end of the volume as 'primarily spurred by marketing considerations [...], not by martyrs',⁴¹ I cannot but perceive in Cicero's scaffold speech, his defiant baring of his own neck, and the moment when 'the stern Herennius [...] / Swaps of the hed, with his presumptuous yron' (v. 68–70)⁴² echoes of the death of another, whose last words to his executioner were recorded by William Roper in 1556: 'Pluck up thy spirits, man, and be not afraid to do thine office; my neck is very short; take heed therefore thou strike not awry, for saving of thine honesty.'⁴³

Notwithstanding Warner's mercantile assessment of Tottell's proceedings, it is of course by no means inappropriate, and Tottell would not have been the successful entrepreneur that he was, had he been guided in his output solely by the dictates of a political regime. As Warner conclusively shows, Tottell had above all a hand for particularly popular genres and marketable literary trends, and in Robinson's *Utopia*, this is especially obvious from its conspicuous fictionalisation. More's *Utopia* had always been strongly associated with travel fiction, and it is the market value of this generic strand that Tottell in his second edition exploits to its maximum. After all, the 1550s were not only an age of classical translation and religious polemics, but also the moment of the foundation of the Muscovy Company and the voyages of exploration by Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor in their attempt to find the North East Passage. This trend was reflected in turn in the activity of translators, such as Richard Eden's versions of Münster's *Cosmography* (*A treatyse of the newe India with other new founde landes and islandes*, 1553, STC 18244) and Peter Martyr's *Decades of the newe worlde* (1555, STC 645).⁴⁴

In the 1556 *Utopia*, the New World context is particularly foregrounded in the new assortment of paratexts. Thus, some of Robinson's marginal notes are obviously designed to draw attention to exotic curiosities and navigational details, such as 'Shippes of straunge fassions' (sig. [Bvi]^{r-v}) or 'The lode stone' (sig. [Bvii]^r); in the newly added letter from Giles to Busleyden, which also contained an explicit reference to Vespucci, Robinson introduces Ulysses as a 'very famous and renowned travailer' (sigs. Siiii^{r-v}), where the Latin original simply mentions the name (*CW* 4, p. 21).⁴⁵ But the most conspicuous fictionalising element is certainly Robinson's addition (and alleged 'translation') of Peter Giles's fictional 'meter of iiii verses in the Utopian tongue', immediately followed by two non-fictional commendatory poems by Gerardus Novimagus and Cornelius Grapheus (cf. sigs. [Svii]^{r-v}).⁴⁶ Although the striking map and alphabet of the Latin editions are missing, Tottell, the printer, amply compensates for this loss by inserting a note that rivals in every respect the original's ironic play with fictionality:

The Utopian Alphabete, good Reader, whiche in the aboue written Epistle is promised, hereunto I haue not now adioyned, because I haue not as yet the true characters or fourmes of the Utopiane letters. And no maruail: seying it is a tongue to vs muche straunger then the Indian, the Persian, the Syrian, the Arabicke, the Egyptian, the Macedonian, the Sclauonian, the

ciprian, the Scythian &c. Which tongues though they be nothing so straunge among vs, as the Utopian is, yet their characters we haue not. (sig. [Sviii]^r)

As Shannon Miller remarks, Robinson and his printer, by employing the same paratextual strategies as the early editions, ‘are enjoying aspects of the humanist game that is the *Utopia* while simultaneously drawing out more mercantile connections’.⁴⁷ I would, however, contend that they were, like many classical translations at the time, above all catering to their readership’s vivid interest in travel fiction and romance.⁴⁸ That they did so with success is not least proved by the fact that the 1556 *Utopia* was reprinted essentially without changes (and even including the potentially controversial marginalia) by Thomas Creede in 1597. The only two paratexts Creede omits are Robinson’s prefatory letter and Tottell’s printer’s note. Apparently, the text had become generically distinct enough to be profitable, uncontentious, and in no need of further fictionalisation. It is indeed from the latter half of the century onwards that authors increasingly refer to *Utopia* in terms of fiction or romance, so that Humphrey Gilbert, for example, in his *Discoure of a discoverie for a new passage to Cataia* (1576) feels prompted to clarify that he is concerned, not with ‘Utopia, or any country of fained imagination’ but with ‘a country, well knowen to be described and set foorth by all modern Geographers’.⁴⁹

Ironically, the successful fictionalisation of *Utopia* which ensured its survival on the market is also the reason why in its later seventeenth-century editions it loses the specific topical appeal that had been its chief asset at the beginning. More still prominently features in these versions as a humanist and martyr, perhaps even more impressively so because his features are now depicted. The 1624 edition (London: Bernard Alsop) has the less well-known Philip Galle version, depicting More complete with scholar’s gown and scroll, while in the 1639 edition (London: B. Alsop and T. Fawcet), the portrait resembles the more popular (and more often polemically instrumentalised) Holbein version.⁵⁰ In both portraits, he is ascribed the familiar features both of being *fortis* (proven by his death) and of holding to *doctrina* (1624), of embodying *prudentia* and *eloquentia* (1639). Yet in presenting More’s ‘remembrance’ as ‘a mirror to all succeeding Nobilitie’,⁵¹ the work—which is now simply titled *Sir Thomas Moore’s Vtopia* (1624) and *The common-wealth of Vtopia* (1639)—is transformed, in Per Siverfors’s terms, almost into ‘a thing of the past’, a ‘textual monument’ or ‘relic’ removed from present-day concerns.⁵² Thus the author of *Utopia*, who had taken such pains to complicate his own role in the original paratexts,

eventually ends up as a metonymic equation with his own work, or indeed—as Peter Stallybrass would have it—as a paratext himself.⁵³

NOTES

1. Zsolt Almási, 'Introduction', in *New Perspectives on Tudor Culture*, edited by Zsolt Almási and Mike Pincombe (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2012), p. 2. For a complete list of early modern editions of *Utopia* see *Thomas More's Utopia in Early Modern Europe: Paratexts and Contexts*, edited by Terence Cave (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), pp. 281–5.
2. Terence Cave, 'Introduction', in *Thomas More's Utopia*, p. 3.
3. Elizabeth McCutcheon, 'More's *Utopia* and Its Parerga (1516–1518)', reprinted in *Moreana*, 201–2 (2015), 133–48.
4. See Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, 'Introduction', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, edited by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 6.
5. No other translation was published until Gilbert Burnet's 1684 *Utopia* (London: Richard Chiswell). The trajectory of Robinson's text has most recently been sketched by Cave in *Thomas More's Utopia*, pp. 87–101, and Per Sivefors, 'Utopian English: Transferring and Adapting the Text of *Utopia* in Early Modern England', in *Approaches to the Text: from Pre-Gospel to Post-Baroque*, edited by Roy Eriksen and Peter Young (Pisa and Rome: Serra, 2014), pp. 155–69.
6. For all quotations from the 1551 edition I have used Thomas More, *Utopia: London 1551*, English Experience, its Records in Early Printed Books Published in Facsimile (Amsterdam and New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), while quotations from the 1556 version have been taken from the Huntington Library copy available on EEBO: Thomas More, *A frutefull pleasaunt, [and] wittie worke, of the beste state of a publique weale, and of the newe yle, called Vtopia: ...* (London: [Richard Tottel for] Abraham Vele, 1556). All quotations from More's original are taken from *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, Vol. 4, edited by Edward Surtz and David Hexter (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965), referred to in the text as CW4. Page references to all three texts are given in parentheses in the text.
7. In the 1518 Basel edition that Robinson was probably using the title reads *De optimo reipublicae statu deque noua insula Vtopia libellus vere aureus nec minus salutaris quam festiuus*.
8. See Phil Withington, *Society in Early Modern England: The Vernacular Origins of Some Powerful Ideas* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), p. 148; I follow the STC title and dating. In this short dialogical poem, the allegori-

- cal personae of 'England' and the 'publyke weale', as if separate from each other, bitterly lament the social injustices of the day.
9. The work is briefly discussed in Elizabeth McCutcheon, *My Dear Peter: The Ars Poetica and Hermeneutics for More's Utopia* (Angers: Moreanum, 1983), p. 41.
 10. On the dating of the *Discourse* see Cathy Shrank, *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1430–1580* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 154.
 11. Shrank, *Writing the Nation*, pp. 153–81.
 12. Withington, *Society in Early Modern England*, p. 149.
 13. See David Weil Baker, *Divulging Utopia: Radical Humanism in Sixteenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), pp. 106–30 (p. 122), as well as his earlier version of this chapter, 'Topical Utopias: Radicalizing Humanism in Sixteenth-Century England', *SEL*, 36 (1996), 1–30.
 14. Joshua Phillips, 'Staking Claims to *Utopia*: Thomas More, Fiction and Intellectual Property', in *Material Culture and Cultural Materialisms in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, edited by Curtis Perry (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), pp. 111–38 (p. 134); Jennifer Bishop, 'Utopia and Civic Politics in Mid-Sixteenth-Century London', *The Historical Journal*, 54 (2011), 933–53 (p. 942).
 15. See Withington, *Society in Early Modern England*, pp. 148–51. Both Withington and Bishop refer to Thomas Smith's authorship of the abortive 'Vagrancy Act' of 1547, which was an attempt to introduce a version of community labour modelled on Hythloday's suggestion of punitive enslavement in *Utopia*.
 16. Robinson had already written his former schoolmate Cecil a begging letter in the same year and mentions his support at the end of his dedicatory epistle (sig. [xvi]^r); see also Cave, *Thomas More's Utopia*, p. 92.
 17. Withington, *Society in Early Modern England*, p. 149. On Cecil's influence on Edwardine publishing culture see Cave, *Thomas More's Utopia*, pp. 92–3, and Phillips, 'Staking Claims to *Utopia*', pp. 129–30.
 18. See Withington, *Society in Early Modern England*, p. 143.
 19. On Smith's belief in civic participation and counsel see Shrank, *Writing the Nation*, pp. 154–7.
 20. A friend of John Cheke's and Roger Ascham's, Harington composed his translation after the downfall of Somerset in 1549 while he was a prisoner in the Tower together with Thomas Smith; see Ruth Hughey, *John Harington of Stepney, Tudor Gentleman: His Life and Works* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1971), pp. 28–34.
 21. On the ambiguity of this image see, however, Baker, *Divulging Utopia*, pp. 108–9.

22. Baker, *Divulging Utopia*, p. 125.
23. R. C. D. Baldwin, 'Nicholls, Thomas (b. in or before 1523, d. 1612)', in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20123>, accessed 25 July 2016. Little is known about Nicolls's translation today save Thomas Hobbes's disparaging comment in his own *Thucydides* over a century later. However, the fact that the ESTC lists 22 copies extant in Britain alone testifies that it must have been fairly popular in its time, even despite its costly layout.
24. Sivefors, 'Utopian English', p. 159.
25. Neil Rhodes, 'Pure and Common Greek in Early Tudor England', in *The Culture of Translation in Early Modern England and France, 1500–1660*, edited by Tania Demetriou and Rowan Tomlinson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 54–70.
26. See, for example, Anne Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535–1603* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 18–71.
27. On the centrality of 'obstinacy' as a legal term in More's own self-defence and in his prison letters see, for example, Elizabeth McCutcheon, 'More's Three Prison Letters Reporting on his Interrogations', in *Thomas More's Trial by Jury: A Procedural and Legal Review with a Collection of Documents*, edited by Henry Ansgar Kelly, Louis W. Karlin, and Gerard B. Wegemer (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), pp. 94–110. On the fool paradigm in Protestant representations of More see Warren W. Wooden, 'Thomas More in Hostile Hands: The English Image of Thomas More in Protestant Literature of the Renaissance', *Moreana*, 75–6 (1982), 77–87.
28. Both are cited in Jackson Campbell Boswell, *Sir Thomas More in the English Renaissance: An Annotated Catalogue* (Binghampton and New York: MRTS, 1994), pp. 252 and 281.
29. See Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 29–56. I have discussed Pole's role in this early debate in my essay 'Representing Martyrdom in Post-Reformation England', in *Representing Religious Pluralization in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Andreas Höfele, Stephan Laqué, Enno Ruge, and Gabriela Schmidt (Münster: LIT, 2007), pp. 63–90.
30. Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, p. 177.
31. Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, pp. 179–85.
32. Baker, *Divulging Utopia*, p. 108.
33. See Anne Dillon's summary of the Marian 'pseudomartyr debate' in *The Construction of Martyrdom*, pp. 36–52. As Duffy points out in *Fires of Faith* (p. 180), the terms 'obstinate and stubborn' were also used to

- denounce unrepentant Protestants in Rastell's dedicatory epistle to the queen in *The Workes of Sir Thomas More Knyght* (London: John Cawood, John Waley, Richard Tottell, 1557), sig. Cii^v.
34. Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom*, pp. 24 and 26.
 35. Cited in J. Christopher Warner, *The Making and Marketing of Tottell's Miscellany, 1557: Songs and Sonnets in the Summer of the Martyrs' Fires* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), p. 160. I would like to thank Katie Forsyth for referring me to this title. On Harpsfield's *Life* as 'the *Vita* of a humanist martyr' see also Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom*, p. 45.
 36. More's Latin has *prudens* (CW 4, p. 40).
 37. See Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom*, p. 37.
 38. Gabriela Schmidt, "'This Turk's persecution for the faith': Thomas More's *Dialogue of Comfort* and the Reformation Debate on Martyrdom", *Moreana*, 175 (2008), 209–38.
 39. See Roger Virgoe and A. D. K. Hawkyard, 'Brende (Brande), John (by 1515–1559), of London and Beccles, Suff.', in *The History of Parliament*, online edition: [http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/brende-\(brande\)-john-1515-59](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/brende-(brande)-john-1515-59), accessed 30 July 2016.
 40. William Wizeman, *The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor's Church* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 42.
 41. Warner, *Making and Marketing*, p. 191.
 42. Cited according to *Tottell's Miscellany: Songs and Sonnets of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt and Others*, edited by Amanda Holton and Tom McFaul (London: Penguin, 2011).
 43. William Roper, *The Life of Sir Thomas More, c.1556*, edited by Gerard B. Wegemer and Stephen W. Smith (Dallas: Center for Thomas More Studies, 2003), p. 58; online edition: <http://thomasmorestudies.org/docs/Roper.pdf>, accessed 31 July 2016.
 44. Jackson C. Boswell notes that Eden, at the end of this work, introduces More and Elyot as arbiters of English diction (Boswell, *Sir Thomas More in the English Renaissance*, pp. 8–9).
 45. The topos is also voiced in Brende's *Curtius*, where the translator remarks that 'Homer paynted forth in the person of Vlyxes, the ymage of a perfyte wyse man: imputing the cause therof, to the knowledge he hadde gatheryd by trauelyng many countreyes & by vewyng and marking the customes and maners of dyuers nacyons' (sig. Aii^v).
 46. As Per Sivefors remarks, Robinson enhances the fiction not only through this new ordering of the poems, but also through his pretence at having translated the verses 'directly' from the Utopian, while the actual Latin source is excluded (Sivefors, 'Utopian English', p. 162).

47. Shannon Miller, 'Idleness, Humanist Industry, and English Colonial Activity in Thomas More's "fruitfull, pleasant," "wittie" and "profitable" *Utopia*', in *Essays in Memory of Richard Helgerson: Laureations*, edited by Roze Hentschell and Kathy Lavezzo (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011), p. 39.
48. The close link during the period between the voyages of exploration, classical translation, and romance has been examined by Claudia Olk, 'Travelling Translations: Classical Literature in Mid-Sixteenth-Century England', in *Elizabethan Translation and Literary Culture*, edited by Gabriela Schmidt (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2013), pp. 255–74.
49. Cited in Boswell, *Sir Thomas More in the English Renaissance*, p. 136. For further references to *Utopia* as romance see Phillips, 'Staking Claims to *Utopia*', p. 137.
50. On the Galle-version as probably 'intended to portray the humanist', see Stanley Morison, *The Likeness of Thomas More: An Iconographical Survey of Three Centuries*, edited by Nicolas Barker (London: Burns and Oates, 1963), pp. 49–50. The first likeness of More in print, in John Fowler's Antwerp edition of More's polemical *Letter to Bugenhagen* (1568), was, according to Morison (*Likeness*, p. 47), modelled on the Holbein version. Morison also mentions a variant of the Holbein portrait held at Knole House (*Likeness*, p. 11). In this one, More is depicted with a cross pending from his chain (instead of the Tudor rose) and with his hand on a book showing the words 'sed causa'—clearly an allusion to St Cyprian's classical definition of martyrdom, 'martyres veros non facit poena sed causa' (see Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom*, p. 19). The title-page of the 1639 *Utopia* was designed by William Marshall, who would also produce the famous likeness of Charles I as martyr in *Eikon Basilike* and the frontispiece to Carey's translation, *Romulus and Tarquin*, discussed by Giovanni Iamartino and Alessandra Manzi in this volume. Although the More portrait is missing in the Huntington Library copy available on EEBO, the British Library copy consulted by Sivefors ('Utopian English', p. 166) certainly includes it.
51. Bernard Alsop's dedication to More's great-grandson Cresacre More in 1624 (sig. A2^v).
52. Sivefors, 'Utopian English', pp. 164 and 166.
53. See Peter Stallybrass, 'Afterword', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, edited by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 210–18.



Mirrors for Princes: Paratexts and Political Stance in Henry Carey's Translations of *Romulo* and *Il Tarquinio Superbo* by Virgilio Malvezzi

Giovanni Iamartino and Alessandra Manzi

INTRODUCTION

In a fairly recent survey of the works of 'modern' Western historians from Leonardo Bruni to William Roscoe, Peter Burke wrote that:

So far 553 published translations of 340 texts written by 263 modern historians have been discovered. ... Italian (with 93 texts) led the list of languages

This chapter was jointly conceived, prepared, and written by the two co-authors, with Alessandra Manzi responsible for the 'Introduction' and 'Malvezzi, Carey, and Moralised Roman History', and Giovanni Iamartino for 'The Paratexts of *Romulus* and *Tarquin*' and the 'Conclusion'.

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from which historians were translated, ... English led the languages into which texts were translated, with 140 items.¹

Among those ninety-three texts, a very relevant place belongs to the works of Marquis Virgilio Malvezzi (1595–1654), who may well be representative of the spate of Italian historians and political writers—among them Niccolò Machiavelli, Francesco Guicciardini, Traiano Boccalini, Paolo Paruta, Paolo Giovio, Paolo Sarpi, Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato, Guido Bentivoglio, Martino Martini, and Famiano Strada, to name only a few—whose books were translated into English in the early modern period. Malvezzi’s critical output was particularly appreciated in Britain, as a full list of his works translated and published there shows² (Table 9.1).

Some interesting facts can be gathered from this table. As far as the publication dates are concerned, it is worth noting that the English translations were published between two and twenty years after Malvezzi’s books came out in Italy, that is to say in a limited fourteen-year period between 1637 and 1651.³ This was a time of momentous events in Britain, with years of political turmoil culminating in the Civil War; yet it can be argued that this particular historical phase did not lessen British interest in Malvezzi’s works but, quite the reverse, fostered it. This hypothesis is

Table 9.1 English Translations of Malvezzi’s Works

<i>Title</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Publisher(s)</i>	<i>Translator</i>
<i>Romulus and Tarquin</i>	1637	John Benson	Henry Carey
	1638	John Benson	
	1648	Humphrey Moseley	
<i>Il Davide perseguitato/David persecuted</i>	1637	Thomas Knight	Robert Ashley
	1648	Humphrey Moseley	
	1650	Humphrey Moseley	
<i>Discourses upon Cornelius Tacitus</i>	1642	R. Whitaker and Th. Whitaker	Richard Baker
<i>The chiefe events of the monarchie of Spaine, in the yeare 1639</i>	1647	Humphrey Moseley	Robert Gentilis
<i>The pourtract of the politicke Christian-favourite</i>	1647	M. Meighen and G. Bedell	Thomas Powell
<i>Considerations upon the lives of Alcibiades and Coriolanus</i>	1650	Humphrey Moseley	Robert Gentilis
<i>Stoa Triumphans or two sober paradoxes, viz. 1. The praise of banishment. 2. The dispraise of honors</i>	1651	[No publisher named]	Thomas Powell

supported by the fact that Humphrey Moseley—one of the most successful publishers of his time, both ‘well-known and prestigious’ as Warren Boutcher notes in his essay in this collection, and also, in Lawrence Venuti’s words, ‘a staunch royalist’—stands out in the late 1640s as the main publisher of Malvezzi’s works.⁴ Moseley’s editorial policy was undoubtedly related to his political agenda, one, it can safely be argued, that Malvezzi’s English translators agreed with or, at least, were amenable to. Henry Carey, 2nd Earl of Monmouth was first and foremost among them. The very fact of translating both *Romulo* and *Il Tarquinio Superbo* and having them published together in one volume in 1637, whereas the two Italian source texts had come out separately in 1629 and 1632, is clear evidence of the English translator’s attempt to influence his readers by suggesting a political interpretation of these moralised biographies: the book had a strong royalist slant, which was made even stronger in the subsequent editions of 1638 and 1648. Carey’s *Romulus and Tarquin*, therefore, does provide a striking, if not unique, example of the role of translation as a more or less explicit political activity during one of the most turbulent periods in British history.

For these reasons, the main goal of this chapter will be to analyse the paratextual material included in the three editions of *Romulus and Tarquin* in order to identify Carey’s and his publishers’ opinions regarding the changing political picture in Britain, from the Scottish rebellion of 1637 to the time of the Second English Civil War of 1648–9. As John Barnard has noted, during this period ‘the printing press played a critical role, a role recognized by both contemporaries and later historians’.⁵ Moseley’s part in this will be demonstrated by our discussion of his publication of these two works by Malvezzi.

MALVEZZI, CAREY, AND MORALISED ROMAN HISTORY

Peter Burke summarised in a few lines what is most relevant about Virgilio Malvezzi, especially from a British viewpoint:

One of the most popular authors in his day, now virtually forgotten, was the Italian patrician Virgilio Malvezzi, published in seven English translations in the fourteen-year period 1637 to 1651. His moralizing commentaries on ancient and modern individuals and events circulated in French, Spanish, German, and Latin translations as well as in English, at a time when sententiousness was perceived as a virtue rather than a vice.⁶

To this can be added that, owing to his international renown, Malvezzi was summoned to Madrid, where the Count-Duke of Olivares gave him the position of court historian to Philip IV of Spain. Burke's allusion to the Italian historian's 'sententiousness', together with his generally recognised ornate, convoluted prose, may explain present-day scholarly reluctance to study his works;⁷ it did not, however, discourage early modern readers and translators, quite the reverse.⁸ Malvezzi became especially famous for his moralised biographies: *Romulo* (1629), *Il Tarquinio Superbo* (1632), and *Davide perseguitato* (1634). The subjects of *Romulo* and *Tarquin*, concerned as they were with the most important episodes of the first era of Roman history, were greatly to the political taste of the time and attracted a wide spectrum of readers, especially those who were keen to interpret the origins of Roman power as a celebration of monarchy.⁹

It comes as no surprise, then, that Henry Carey, 2nd Earl of Monmouth, became interested in Malvezzi and his work. Born in 1595, Henry was the eldest son of Robert Carey, a court aristocrat whose fortunes went back to the reign of Elizabeth I. In his early twenties, Henry spent a significant amount of time travelling in Spain and then Italy, where he was able to deepen his knowledge of the Italian language and culture. This induced him to study the most important Italian historians and political treatise writers of the age and, in due time, to translate Malvezzi's *Romulo* and *Il Tarquinio Superbo*, but also other works by such Italian historians and political writers as Gianfrancesco Biondi (*An History of the Civil Warres of England*, London: Ihon Benson, 1641), Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato (*An History of the Late Warres and Other State Affairs*, London: n.p., 1648; *The History of France*, London: William Place et al., 1676), Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio (*The Complete History of the Wars of the Flanders*, London: Humphrey Moseley, 1654), Traiano Boccalini (*I ragguagli di Parnasso or Adversitements from Parnassus in Two Centuries: with the Politick Touch-Stone*, London: Humphrey Moseley, 1656), Paolo Paruta (*Politick Discourses*, London: Humphrey Moseley, 1657; *The History of Venice*, London: Abel Roper, 1658), and Pier Giovanni Capriata (*The History of the Wars of Italy*, London: G. Bedell & T. Collins, 1663).

Whatever the origin of Carey's interest in the Italian political tradition of the seventeenth century, his reading and translation activities reflected the way in which he, as a royalist and aristocrat, observed, and was more or less directly involved in, the dramatic upheavals taking place on English soil. In order to try and prove this relationship, some biographical and contextual information is in order.

At the time of the conflict between Charles I and Parliament, Carey had already inherited his father's title and he sat in the House of Lords, although he preferred living a retired life among his books and far from the court. His opinions were openly favourable to the king, as he showed in 1641, when he delivered a speech to the Lords vainly urging both Parliament and the capital to confirm their loyalty to the sovereign, at a time when it was already feared that the king had abandoned London for a place of greater safety.¹⁰ Shortly thereafter, with Charles I in York, Carey, along with other members of the Lords, refused to comply with the parliamentary order to participate in governmental proceedings and joined the king in York. For both these reasons, he was subjected to impeachment.¹¹ The verdict was harsh, resulting not only in the loss of his seat, but also in the confiscation of his patrimony. In the following years, he was forced to retire to his castle in Hertfordshire, where for a long period of time translating was his only solace¹² and, arguably, his own way to comment discreetly on the most burning political issues of seventeenth-century England, as indeed it was for other royalist translators like Cowley and Fanshawe, for example. In fact, ever since his Englishing of Malvezzi's *Romulo* and *Il Tarquinio Superbo* in 1637, Carey's selection of various Italian authors of different political inclinations seems to suggest that his translating activity responded to changes in the British political climate—changes that he wanted to comment on and influence, albeit in an indirect, subtle way.

As already mentioned, this is particularly true of Carey's *Romulo and Tarquin* which, significantly, was first printed when religious disruption broke out in Scotland. The volume went through a second edition the following year, and was then reprinted for the third time, in 1648, by the aforementioned prominent publisher and bookseller Humphrey Moseley. *David persecuted*—another moralised biography by Malvezzi—also came out in 1637, translated for Thomas Knight's publishing house by Robert Ashley, an aristocrat who sat in the House of Commons and had a long history in the field of translation.¹³ After his death in 1640, his translation would twice be reprinted by Moseley, in 1648 and 1650.¹⁴ The chronological sequence illustrates, once again, how Moseley produced his royalist catalogue in the very midst of the Civil War.¹⁵ It has been argued that 'for Moseley the years between 1640 and 1660, far from being restrictive, gave the opportunity for an innovative (and politically committed) publishing venture aimed at a specific audience'.¹⁶ It was Moseley's desire, in fact, to resurrect the existence and support the plausibility of a political

project, one thwarted by the constitutional failure of Charles I. He did so through the strategic revival of works which had originally appeared in a very different political context but were concerned with such issues as power, political conflict, and war—issues that were indeed particularly sensitive in those days. Malvezzi's biographies were well-suited to this editorial underpinning of loyalist tradition, all the more so as they had been translated into English by two aristocratic followers of Charles I, one of whom, Henry Carey, suffered greatly from the political upheavals of the 1640s.

For a variety of reasons, then, the paratexts that accompany Carey's many translations play an essential role in identifying his—and his publisher's—opinions regarding the changing political picture from the Scottish rebellion until the period of the Restoration. Indeed, a comparison of the paratexts accompanying the three seventeenth-century editions of *Romulus and Tarquin* helps both to illustrate the political profiles of Henry Carey and Humphrey Moseley and to evaluate the success of this particular genre during the years of the Civil War.

THE PARATEXTS OF ROMULUS AND TARQUIN

The paratexts of the three editions of *Romulus and Tarquin* all include the same frontispiece—although only the 1637 and 1648 editions also contain a title-page, which is the same in both cases. All three also include an 'Epistle Dedicatory' to Charles I and the translator's address 'To the favourable Reader'. Only the 1637 edition includes Cary's translation of the author's address to his readers, while only the 1638 and 1648 editions display a series of laudatory poems. These elements making up the paratextual material will be analysed in turn, although, it goes without saying, they are meant to serve a number of different, but interrelated purposes, namely: to introduce the book, and explain its contents and aim; to highlight the original author's and the translator's worth; to capture the readership's attention and good will; and to locate the translation in the emerging literary field of the contemporary English translations of Italian historical texts, as well as in the political debates of the times.

A frontispiece of architectural design, popular in seventeenth-century volumes, is present in all three editions¹⁷ (Fig. 9.1). The plate is clearly organised into three distinctive compartments: in the upper one, a rustic view of Rome and the surrounding landscape is sketched; in the middle and largest one, two Roman soldiers, representing Romulus and Tarquin



Fig. 9.1 *Romulus and Tarquin*. First written in Italian by the Marques Virgilio Malvezzi: And now taught English, by H[enry] C[arey] L[ord Monmouth] (London: J. H[aviland] for John Benson, 1637), title-page. (Reproduced by permission of the University of Edinburgh Library)

themselves, are portrayed; two different, apparently unrelated scenes are found in the lower compartment. These visual elements, however, are also to be analysed carefully and interpreted by contrasting the figures on the left-hand side of the middle and lower compartments with those on the right-hand side. In the middle one, Romulus stands on the left, his shield and spear at rest, and looks straight into his opponent's face while Tarquin on the right, his feet trampling on the scales of justice and what must be law books and parchment treaties, threatens him with his sword drawn and ready to strike. Correspondingly, in the upper compartment a group of armed soldiers also standing at rest on the left is made to contrast with a violent scene on the right, where a man with a crown on his head is being murdered by three assassins; he is the aged king of Rome Servius Tullius, ordered to be killed by the usurper Tarquin and his wife, Tullia, Servius's daughter. The bottom compartment on the right adds violence to violence, as it portrays Tarquin and Tullia driving the wheels of her chariot over her father's corpse. Such a horrific story contrasts sharply with the pastoral scene on the left, portraying the twin baby brothers Romulus and Remus miraculously found and brought up by a shepherd and his wife. One cannot but conclude that all of this is meant to foreshadow the fact that Romulus and Tarquin, the subjects of the two biographies, will provide contrasting models of kingship.

The inscription 'Will: Marshall sculpsit' tells us that the plate was engraved by the artist who has been defined as 'the most prolific of his profession in London during the reign of Charles I'.¹⁸ He is best known for his dramatic portrayal of Charles I as a Christian martyr for the volume entitled *Eikon Basilike* (*The Royal Portrait*), which, purporting to be the spiritual autobiography of the king, was published ten days after his decapitation on 30 January 1649. As far as the frontispiece of the *Romulus and Tarquin* is concerned, its iconography provides clear evidence that this key element of the paratext (as well as the paratext in general) is used to position the translation, both ideologically and politically, and that Marshall fully agreed with the ideological project of the book's translator and publisher.

The bibliographical data in the frontispiece are repeated verbatim on the identical title-pages of the 1638 and 1648 editions, but an interesting variation is found in the three different editions concerning the name of the translator: while the Italian author's name is given constant emphasis and remains unchanged in the frontispieces and title-pages, the English translator has only the initials ICL in the first frontispiece of 1637; he is

mentioned as 'H. L^d. Cary of Lepington' in the second, published the following year; he finally becomes 'Henry Earle of Monmouth' in the 1648 edition published by Moseley. The translator's voice thus sounds more and more authoritative with each succeeding edition.¹⁹

The liminary material consisting of Carey's dedication to Charles I and his address 'To the favourable Reader' are found in all three editions.²⁰ The English translator felt free to take his own decisions about Malvezzi's original paratexts. On the one hand, he was careful not to translate the most important paratextual feature of *Il Tarquinio superbo*, Malvezzi's dedication of his book to Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, 3rd Duke of Feria, the Spanish nobleman and military commander. It is a panegyric of the Spanish monarchy, something that British readers would not have at all liked, and that might have been prejudicial to the intended interpretation of the translated biography. On the other hand, Carey translated Malvezzi's own original address to the reader in *Il Romulo*, and included it in the English edition for at least two reasons. It added prestige to the book, given the Italian historian's international renown, while at the same time 'authorizing' and justifying Carey's choice of text, and even the translation itself. Secondly and more importantly, Malvezzi's words supported both Carey's decision to dedicate his translation to the king and his attempt to influence current political attitudes. This is most clearly seen in the last but one paragraph:

I write to Princes, because I write of Princes: to entertain them with flim-flam tales, is to sinne against the common good; their grievances are cured by quintessences, they ought not to be nauseated with decoctions. (sig. A1^r)

Two remarks are in order here. First, the Italian author and his English translator share the idea that the book's ideal readership should, first and foremost, consist of 'Princes', that is sovereign rulers, or more generally, those whose rank and wisdom had allowed them to fathom the secrets of politics and whose duty was to rule and govern the country. It should not be forgotten that Carey's translation first came out when the very idea of sovereignty was being questioned, while the backlash from the events in Scotland revealed an insistent republicanism that had never entirely disappeared from English political and cultural life.²¹ Second, given this difficult state of things, urgent and wise advice was needed; and just as quintessences are extracted by distillation and other chemical procedures, so shrewd political advice should be distilled from history, not decocted into

unpalatable medicinal drink—in plain terms, a sound historical account is to be preferred to ‘flim-flam tales’, as Carey translates Malvezzi’s ‘dicerie’. History might indeed be *magistra vitae*, and Malvezzi’s works could provide remedies for the healing of the kingdom. Although this is a commonplace of prefatorial discourse, this metaphor is invested with additional significance and peculiar urgency in the British context of the 1630s–1640s.

The Dedication of *Romulus and Tarquin* ‘To the Most Sacred Majesty of Charles the first, Monarch of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, &c.’ leaves little room for doubt that the two biographies were to be understood as a ‘mirror for princes’:²²

Give mee leave, SIR, I beseech you, to present your *Majestie* with a Glasse, wherein you may see your Soule: A good face may bee discerned in a Glasse of Jeat; and if *contraria juxta se posita*, doe *magis elucescere*; if contraries doe best appeare, when most directly opposed; how can CHARLES *the Gracious* bee better drawne to the Life, than by the description of TARQUIN *the Proud*? How can the unparallel’d CHARLES *the Chaste*, bee better portraited, than by the deciphering of TARQUIN *the foule Ravisher*? How can the happinesse your *Majesties* Realms enjoy (and long may they enjoy it) under your *Majesties* blessed Government, better appeare, than by the making knowne what Miseries and Slavery the *Romans* endured under the Rule of TARQUIN *the Tyrant*? And how, SIR, can your Pietie, and religious Zeale, be better manifested, than by the selfe-deification of ROMULUS? who though it be true, he had the honour of being the first Founder of a *Famous people*, yet *Non minor est virtus quam quaerere, parta tueri*. (sigs. A1^r–A1^v)

Describing those vices that might bring about the loss of a kingdom (as in the case of Tarquin) could only enhance the glory of one (Romulus, that is, King Charles) who understood how a kingdom should be properly maintained. Charles I was, in other words, put forward as a reflection of Romulus, requested to transform the English people into the Romans of bygone days, while at the same time held up as an example of a figure wholly in contrast to that of the tyrannical Tarquin the Proud. Charles, for example, is called ‘*the Chaste*’ and Tarquin ‘*the foule Ravisher*’.²³ This juxtaposition of the two historical Roman figures explains why Carey deemed it appropriate to present Malvezzi’s two moralised biographies, written at different times and with very different intents, in one single edition: the English translator took advantage of Malvezzi’s fame as apologist for the Court of Habsburg in Spain to propose these two works as exemplifying—one positively, and the other negatively—the function of sovereignty.²⁴

In the final lines of the dedicatory epistle, Carey takes up the mirror metaphor, again in order to refer to the inadequacy of his translation as compared with the worth of the original text. This is a common theme in translators' paratexts, one that Anne Coldiron has described as the 'traditional hierarchical relation between inferior translation and superior original' and Theo Hermans and Massimiliano Morini have both explored in depth.²⁵ It is followed by the equally customary translator's modesty topos, although the terms used are unusual:

This Glasse, SIR, is originally *Italian*, and those your *Majestie* knowes are much better than ours of *England*, as made by better Workmen, and of more refined Materials. This, SIR, is but the Copy of a Principall, which, I must confesse, deserves to be copied by a much more skilfull hand. (sig. A2^r)

Just as Italian glassmaking was known to be the best in early modern Europe and Italian, especially Venetian, craftsmen came to work in England and teach Englishmen the secrets of their art,²⁶ so Malvezzi's historical accounts might be brought to England as 'the Copy of a Principall'. Through the metaphor of 'more refined materials', Carey raises the matter of the presumed cultural inferiority of the English in terms of historical and political writing; likewise, 'better workmen' may allude to Machiavelli and other Italian political treatise writers, who had long debated the acquisition and maintenance of political power. As to the source/target text relationship, Carey seems to suffer from—or at least to display—what Neil Rhodes has described as the 'status anxiety' of the translator, as he refers to his translation as 'the Copy' and the original as 'a Principall'.²⁷ This is a technical term meaning 'The original document, drawing, painting, etc., from which a copy is made'.²⁸ Although no quoted example in the *Oxford English Dictionary* entry refers to *principal* as the source text of a translation, the term clearly points to a hierarchy of original versus translation, with the former, of course, being the more valuable and genuine, but the latter as useful and reliable as the copy of a legal document or a painting.

The same attitude transpires in Carey's address 'To the favourable Reader':

This Booke in its native Language, I dare boldly affirme, doth very well deserve the reading; if it shall not seeme to thee to doe so, being thus transplanted, the fault is either thine, or mine; all of favour I will desire of thee is, not to bee too sudden in thy censure; for beleieve me, it will admit of second thoughts. (sig. A2^v)

The great cultural value of the source text is stated once again but the reader—the favourable reader—is asked to be careful to judge the ‘transplanted’ text properly. There is a double implication here: the botanical metaphor—itself not completely new in prefatory materials—suggests that, once Carey’s translations had been planted in the English cultural soil, they were bound to take root and bear fruit; and the customary modesty topos gets tweaked a little, since Carey is sharing any blame for the translation’s inferior quality vis-à-vis the original with his reader.

As mentioned above, the political situation when *Romulus and Tarquin* appeared was a dramatic one in Britain. In the year 1637, as the political fallout of events in Scotland seemed to signal the re-emergence of a Republican spirit on the island, the absolutist ideal was challenged. It is hardly surprising, then, that Carey’s book was republished the following year, its original liminal material further enriched by six laudatory poems.²⁹ Written and signed by influential poets of the time, these aimed at extolling both the importance of Malvezzi’s works and the translator’s merits: Carey’s political and intellectual acuity in choosing those particular texts, and the great value of his English versions. While doing so, these poems were also meant to bear witness to the vitality of the royalist party. Therefore, it probably depends solely on Humphrey Moseley’s commitment to the monarchy that these laudatory poems are also found in the 1648 re-edition, with the king on the very edge of political and personal disaster, and the royalists, despite defeats, confiscations, imprisonments, and executions, still holding grimly onto their political principles.

The authors of all six poems belong to the group of the so-called Cavalier Poets, who supported the king. John Suckling and Thomas Carew were the best known and are rightly given pride of place. Their friend William Davenant, the playwright and unofficial poet laureate after Ben Jonson, follows. Lesser known contributors are: Aurelian Townshend, also a poet, playwright, composer of court masques (together with Jonson and Davenant), and a friend of Carew’s; Thomas Wortley, possibly a younger brother of Sir Francis Wortley, the well-known poet and royalist army officer; and Robert Stapylton, a playwright and a translator from Latin and Greek. All these authors were on the Court’s side of the King/Parliament divide, and thus participated in the political encoding of the translation; more generally, they endorsed the idea that royalist translators were out to salvage the humanist heritage threatened by Republican roundheads.³⁰

Laudatory verse seldom makes great poetry, and this is no exception. Still, the poems are interesting as they add details to the linguistic and literary context of Carey's translation as well as its goals. Moreover, several touch on topics relating to seventeenth-century concepts of translation, and do so by using topoi and metaphors used in translation discourse. Finally, all the poems clearly testify that Malvezzi's admirers and Carey's friends were fully aware of the innovative rhetorical nature of the Italian's work and the English translator's socio-political blueprint.

Suckling's lines initially focus on the idea that, after travelling abroad, Carey has brought home 'The choicest things fam'd Countreyes doe afford' and 'Malvezzi by your meanes is English growne, / And speaks our tongue as well now as his owne' despite his stylistic difficulty (sig. A3^r). Images of bringing home foreign treasure and making foreign texts 'speak English' are found throughout such meta-discourse. Suckling also emphasises how useful historical examples are by referring to Malvezzi's description of the Roman Empire and the way 'The little body grew so large and high' (sig. A3^r). He is also the only one who gives voice to Lucrece, asserting that Malvezzi's text 'Gives her a kinde Revenge for Tarquins sinne, / For ravish't first, she ravisheth againe' (sig. A3^v).

In the second poem, Carew, who could read Italian, was aware that Malvezzi's books did not make easy reading for the Italians—'I beleeve your Marquis by a good / Part of his natives hardly understood' (sig. A4^r)—as his style was far from what Bembo, Varchi, and the Crusca academy, all mentioned in his poem, held up as a linguistic and literary model. This was not necessarily bad, though, because the Italian author and his English translator—both noblemen—had a select readership in mind: 'So nor your thoughts, nor words fit common eares. / He writes, and you translate, both to your Peeres' (sig. A4^r).³¹ This underlines Carey's royalist loyalties and desire to preserve the humanist legacy through elitist language, as mentioned above.

William Davenant's poem, at fifty-eight lines the longest in the group, is also the least specific in its reference to Carey's work: after commenting on the curse of Babel, Davenant focuses on knowledge and wisdom, that only translators like Carey 'may communicate / From darker Dialects of a strange land' (sig. A5^r). However, he also articulates a widely-endorsed principle of early modern translation, namely the domestication of the foreign text for a new readership, and does so by using the familiar formula of 'having it speak English':

What noble wonders will in time appeare,
 When all that's forren growe domesticke here?
 When all the scatter'd world you reconcile
 Unto this speech, and idiome of this Ile? (sig. A5^r)

The remaining laudatory poems follow suit, but each adds something new. Townshend explicitly refers back to Davenant's, Carew's, and Suckling's poems and argues he cannot do better; yet he compares Carey to Galileo, praising the earl's translation as 'full of Ornament', while chastising the 'Verball Translators' who 'sticke to the bare Text, / Sometime so close, the Reader is perplex't' (sig. A5^v).³² This evokes the ancient dichotomy that dominated translation theory in the period, namely the choice between translating closely or literally, or more freely. More specifically, Townshend is responding to the royalist claim for free translation: as Venuti has argued, 'A freer translation method was advocated with greater frequency from the 1620s onward, especially in aristocratic and court circles.'³³

Wortley, in a way, takes up Suckling's and Carew's hints at Malvezzi's difficult readability, but praises Carey for illuminating the linguistic obscurities of the source text by comparing his work to that of Anthony van Dyck:

My Noble Lord, no more of Lepington
 Then of the Tuscan language and your owne
 That have so polish't with your English file
 This knotty peece of darke Malvezzi's stile,
 And taken to the life his minde as like
 As any face e're drawn by great Vandyke. (sig. A6^r)

Comparing a painting and a translation is a familiar topos in translation meta-discourse; Wortley's specific reference to Van Dyck, however, is obviously not a casual one: the artist was the official portrait painter to the court of King Charles and the creator of the sovereign's well-known triple portrait.

The sequence of laudatory poems comes full circle with Stapylton's lines since, apart from mentioning Romulus and the Capitoline wolf on one side, and Tarquin and the rape of Lucrece on the other, he reverses the opposition between copy and 'principal' in Carey's 'Epistle Dedicatory' to

the king, thus turning the traditional conception of superior original, inferior translation on its head:

For though we read th'Italian, and confesse
 No Authour writes it with more happinesse,
 Yet did not you, my Lord, your English call
 The Copy, we should stile't th'Originall. (sig. A6^v)³⁴

CONCLUSION

Recent historical research into the English Civil War has often focused on the royalists, now considered as an amalgam of a variety of political and cultural sensibilities. Their enthusiasm for antiquity and the classical world has been emphasised, and, even more recently, it has been pointed out that early modern history, too, with its fascinating analogical appeal to their own times, represented a factor of enormous interest in the royalist camp.³⁵ Research on stationers in the service of the royalist cause—Humphrey Moseley being the most outstanding example—has made it possible to illuminate the matrix of cultural perspectives which sustained this particular political stance and to assess their contribution to intellectual and linguistic debates in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

In this context, historical translation studies have provided a major contribution to help identify the kinds of cultural models then current in continental Europe that were useful to royalists in order to legitimise their political perspective. It was, at times, a highly tactical business: while in some cases the political discourse inherent in historiography at the time underwent no form of transformation or distortion in translations, in others translators interpreted works in a light that was very different from the intentions of the original author. This was not perceived to be a 'mistake' on the translator's part; rather than insisting on adherence to the source text, he or she saw as the main objective the translation's relevance to the receiving culture. Naturally, paratextual material was meant to highlight such relevance.

In terms of early modern approaches to history, Daniel Woolf has pointed out that the genre straddled the worlds of scholarship and literary culture, and readers were expected to make comparisons and find analogies and allegories in historical writings for partisan ends.³⁶ Paulina Kewes argues for instance that:

With the breakdown of ideological consensus and the onset of the Civil War, topical uses of history became more explicit, crude, and deliberately derogatory. The dominant mode was now the general or particular parallel. In trying to come to terms with, and conceptualize what was happening to them, contemporaries cited biblical, classical, Continental, and national precedents. The most ubiquitous were: the crucifixion as a prefiguring of the regicide; an assortment of Old Testament rebellions; the expulsion of the Tarquins and the assassination of Julius Caesar; the French Wars of Religion; and the Barons' War.³⁷

Thus, what remained to unite potential readers was the appeal of the Roman histories' description of the processes of royal legitimation.³⁸ In short, for seventeenth-century readers the interest in the narrated events grew out of an enduring faith in the didactic possibilities of history in relation to politics; more specifically, the British passion for historical narrative also brought with it the search—throughout the contemporary European cultural panorama—for materials that could confirm the strength and viability of a project that maintained the king's figure in the centre of the political arena. Royalist translators, Henry Carey conspicuously among them, were instrumental in achieving this aim.

NOTES

1. Peter Burke, 'Translating Histories', in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Peter Burke and Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 125–41 (pp. 127, 128).
2. John Milton seems to have been an exception to the rule, as he unkindly remarked that Malvezzi 'can cut Tacitus into slivers and steaks': John Milton, *Of Reformation Touching Church Discipline in England* [1641], in *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton, Volume 1: 1624–1642*, edited by Don M. Wolfe (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 573. Milton is probably referring to Malvezzi's *Discorsi sopra Cornelio Tacito* (1622), which he must have read in Italian, since Sir Richard Baker's English translation, *Discourse upon Cornelius Tacitus*, was not published until 1642.
3. The titles and publication dates of Malvezzi's source texts are as follows: *Discorsi sopra Cornelio Tacito* (1622), *Romulo* (1629), *Il Tarquinio Superbo* (1632), *Davide Perseguitato* (1634), *Il Ritratto del privato politico cristiano* (1635), *Successi principali della monarchia di Spagna dell'anno 1639* (1641), *Considerationi con occasione d'alcuni luoghi delle vite d'Alcibiade e Coriolano* (1648).

4. Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 44. Guyda Armstrong has also recently pointed to Moseley's conventional way of referring to his translators as 'a person of quality', meaning those with a courtly affiliation: 'From Boccaccio to the Incogniti: The Cultural Politics of the Italian Tale in English Translation in the Seventeenth Century', in *Seventeenth-Century Fiction: Text and Transmission*, edited by Jacqueline Glomski and Isabelle Moreau (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 159–82 (p. 180). See also other sources quoted in note 15.
5. John Barnard, 'London Publishing, 1640–1660: Crisis, Continuity, and Innovation', *Book History*, 4 (2001), 1–16 (p. 1).
6. Peter Burke, 'Modern History and Politics', in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Volume 2: 1550–1660*, edited by Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings, and Stuart Gillespie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 312–21 (p. 313).
7. Important studies of Malvezzi include Marc Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence* (Paris: A. Michel, 1994), pp. 162–226; Silvia Bulletta, *Virgilio Malvezzi e la storiografia classica* (Milan: Istituto di propaganda libraria, 1995); and Eleonora Belligni, *Lo Scacco della prudenza. Precettistica politica ed esperienza storica in Virgilio Malvezzi* (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1999).
8. Burke omits to mention that Malvezzi was also translated into Dutch and Portuguese.
9. Still, since the downfall of the Tarquins marked the beginning of the Roman Republic, the same historical events could also appeal to a parliamentarian and republican audience.
10. This speech contained Carey's appeal to the House of Commons to show their loyalty and to the king to return to London: 'wee may desire the house of Commons to ioyn with us ... in an humble petition to his Maiestie, that hee would be graciously pleased to return to his good City of London, as the safest place we conceive for his sacred Person in these distemper'd times'. It was printed as a pamphlet entitled *A Speech Made in the House of Peeres, by the Right Honourable Earle of Monmouth, on Thursday the 13. of Ianuary 1641* by John Benson (London: 1641), who had already brought out Carey's *Romulus and Tarquin*. See E. Lord, 'Carey, Henry, second earl of Monmouth (1596–1661)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, online version 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4650>, accessed 2 August 2017. Edward Hyde Clarendon records that on 15 June 1642 Carey signed the petition, together with other Lords, that the king had no intention of war (*History of the Rebellion and of the Civil Wars* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1826), III, pp. 71–2). After that, though, Carey was no longer directly involved in political life.

11. *Articles of Impeachment Exhibited in Parliament against Spencer Earle of Northampton William Earle of Devonshire Henry Earle of Dover Henry Earle of Monmouth ...* (London: J. R., 1642).
12. Carey's eldest son, Lionel, died fighting in the royalist army at Marston Moor (1644), a tragic event that profoundly affected him. After the translation of Giovanni Biondi's *History of the Civil Warres of England* (London: John Benson, 1641), he refused to translate more histories on the English Civil Wars on the grounds, as stated in the 'Translators Epistle to the Reader' prefacing Priorato's *An History of the Late Warres* (London: John Hardesty et al., 1648), that 'they are such as I could wish were rather buried in *Oblivion* then recorded unto *memory*'. His last translation from the Italian, Priorato's *The History of France*, was left unfinished at his death in June 1661, but was completed by William Brent and published in 1676.
13. See V. B. Heltzel, 'Robert Ashley: Elizabethan Man of Letters', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 10 (1946–7), 349–63.
14. Moseley's reprints of Ashley's translation include an engraved frontispiece of Charles I portrayed as King David playing the lyre. As Lois Potter has put it, 'by giving David the face of Charles I, Moseley transformed the neutral sounding translation into an obvious contemporary analogy' (*Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature, 1641–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 161). The plate was engraved by William Marshall, as discussed below.
15. Potter says that Moseley established himself as 'the most prestigious literary publisher of the time ... Nevertheless, he was firmly royalist throughout his career, and consistently advertised the fact in the prefaces to his publications' (*Secret Rites*, p. 20). Indeed, he became (or at least portrayed himself as) 'the preserver of an endangered Royalist or loyalist body of texts' (Arthur Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 261). In terms of the Cavalier–Roundhead conflict that dominated their generation, the essayists, poets, and playwrights published by Moseley were, in the main, royalist sympathisers. As far as translations are concerned, it has been argued that literary texts, especially the Classics, might be attached political significance when translated into English: for Moseley and a 'royalist Virgil', see Marie-Alice Belle, 'At the Interface between Translation History and Literary History: A Genealogy of the Theme of "Progress" in Seventeenth-Century English Translation History and Criticism', *The Translator*, 20.1 (2014), 44–63. For Moseley as a publisher of translations, see also Warren Boutcher in this volume and Alice Eardley, 'Marketing Aspiration: Fact and Fiction and the Public of French Romance in Mid-Seventeenth-Century England', in *Seventeenth-Century Fiction*, edited by Glomski and Moreau, pp. 130–42. More general studies are by David Scott Kastan, 'Humphrey Moseley and

- the Invention of English Literature', in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, edited by Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, and Eleanor F. Shevlin (Amherst, Mass: University of Massachusetts Press; Washington, D.C., in association with the Center for the Book, Library of Congress, 2007), pp. 105–24; Peter Lindenbaum, 'Humphrey Moseley', in *The British Literary Book Trade, 1675–1700*, edited by James K. Bracken and Joel Silver (Detroit: Gale, 1996), pp. 177–83; and Robert Wilcher, 'Moseley, Humphrey (b. in or before 1603, d. 1661)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19390>, accessed 15 December 2016.
16. Barnard, 'London Publishing, 1640–1660', p. 8.
 17. This type of frontispiece or decorative, engraved title-page, is discussed in detail in Margery Corbett and R. W. Lightbrown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England 1550–1660* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979).
 18. Anthony Griffiths, 'Marshall, William (fl. 1617–1649)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18154>, accessed 15 December 2016. Marshall also drew the image of William Shakespeare for John Benson's edition and portrayed John Milton for Moseley's presentation of Milton's poems. According to Potter, 'the portrait of Milton was so bad to suggest a deliberate sabotage while Moseley's presentation of the volume was designed to turn his author, against his will, into a crypto-royalist' (*Secret Rites*, p. 162). See also Gabriela Schmidt's mention of Marshall's frontispiece for More's *Utopia* in this volume.
 19. An interesting linguistic detail is also to be noticed in both frontispiece and title-page: the two moralised biographies 'First Written in Italian By the Marques Virgilio Malvezzi' are 'now taught English' by Carey. This particular usage of the verb *to teach* for *to translate* is found nowhere else in the title-pages of early modern translations into English, as a quick search in EEBO shows; and the *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. TO TEACH 6.b, lists only this example. It is of course used this way elsewhere, for example in various translators' prefatorial paratexts.
 20. There are no textual differences among them, only very minor orthographical variations that are quite common in seventeenth-century written English. One small iconographic detail is to be noted, though: unlike the previous editions, in Moseley's 1648 book fleurons take the forms of crowns. All quotations will be taken from this latter edition, as it constitutes an important feature in Moseley's royalist catalogue. For the use, significance, and functions of fleurons in sixteenth-century books, see Juliet Fleming, 'Changed Opinion as to Flowers', in *Renaissance Paratexts*,

- edited by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 48–64.
21. See among others J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), pp. 333–422.
 22. Again, this is a commonplace in translators' dedications, but Carey exploits it for political purposes.
 23. It is to be noted that Tarquin is wrongly blamed as 'the foule Ravisher'. In fact, it was not he but his son, Sextus Tarquinius, who raped Lucrece. Still, the confusion between the two Tarquins can be understood from a political point of view because Lucrece's tragic end led to a revolt against them, to the overthrow of the monarchy, and to the founding of the Roman Republic. Apart from the classical sources—Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita Libri* and Ovid's *Fasti*—the story was best known to English readers through Shakespeare's 1594 *Rape of Lucrece*.
 24. The passage quoted above includes two interesting Latin quotations pointing up the contrast between Tarquin and Charles. The first, 'contraria juxta se posita magis elucescunt' (opposites placed next to each other become more apparent), originally from Aquinas's *Summa Theologica*, was used by Charles's father, James I, in a passage of his *Basilikon Doron* dealing with the topic of tyranny (*Political Writings*, edited by Johann P. Sommerville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 20). The second quotation, 'Non minor est virtus quam quaerere parta tueri', is from Ovid's *Fasti* (II, 13) and can be translated as 'Nor is there less prowess in guarding what is won than in seeking'—an ominous comment, considering what was going to happen in England.
 25. Anne E. B. Coldiron, 'Commonplaces and Metaphors', in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Volume 2: 1550–1660*, edited by Braden, Cummings, and Gillespie, pp. 109–17 (p. 114). For the figurative language used to embody this theme, see also Theo Hermans, 'Images of Translation: Metaphor and Imagery in the Renaissance Discourse on Translation', in *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation*, edited by Theo Hermans (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1985), pp. 103–35, and Massimiliano Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 35–61.
 26. See, among others, Eleanor S. Godfrey, *The Development of English Glassmaking 1560–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).
 27. Neil Rhodes, 'Status Anxiety and English Renaissance Translation', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, edited by Smith and Wilson, pp. 107–20.
 28. See *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. PRINCIPAL B.7.a.
 29. The titles are as follows: 'To his much honoured Henry Earle of Monmouth upon his Translation of *Malvezzi* his *Romulus* and *Tarquin*', by Joh.

Sucklin [sic] Knight; 'To my much honored friend, Henry Earle of Monmouth, upon his Translation of Malvezzi', by Tho. Carew; 'To the Right Honorable his much esteemed friend, Henry Earle of Monmouth upon his Translation of *Malvezzi*', by W. Davenant Knight; 'To the right Honourable, Henry Earle of Monmouth, eldest sonne to the Earle of Monmouth', by A. Tounshend; 'To his much valued friend, Henry Earle of Monmouth, Authour of this Translation', by Tho. Wortley; and 'To the right Honorable, Henry Earle of Mounmouth on his Romulus and Tarquin', by Robert Stapylton Knight.

30. See on this, among others, Annabel Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984) and *Reading between the Lines* (London: Routledge, 1993).
31. In *The Translator's Invisibility*, Lawrence Venuti notes that 'The triumph of the heroic couplet in late seventeenth-century poetic discourse depends to some extent on the triumph of a neoclassical translation method in aristocratic literary culture, a method whose greatest triumph is perhaps the discursive sleight of hand that masks the political interests it serves' (p. 65).
32. Galileo Galilei's *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo*, where he discussed the Copernican and Ptolemaic systems, was first published in 1632, and translated into Latin as *Systema cosmicum* in 1635. England had to wait until 1661 for Thomas Salusbury's translation.
33. Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, p. 46.
34. According to Theo Hermans, it is typical of laudatory poems to 'upgrade the translator's achievement' and even 'invert the hierarchy between original and translation' ('Images of Translation', pp. 106, 110).
35. Burke, 'Modern History and Politics'.
36. Daniel Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 7.
37. Paulina Kewes, 'Introduction', in *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*, edited by Paulina Kewes (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 2006), pp. 16–17.
38. Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, pp. 591–624.



The Paratexts to Ben Jonson's Translation of Horace's *Ars poetica* (1640): A Contemporary Reading of Jonson's Poetics

Line Cottegnies

As Victoria Moul, among others, has argued, Horace was Jonson's model for 'his own self-conscious poetic authority'. 'Jonson used Horace', she continues, 'to mark his laureate role as poet of courtly panegyric, and to insist upon his artistic freedom despite the network of patronage and financial dependence within which he was compelled to operate'.¹ Jonson interspersed his poetry with translations and imitations of Horace's 'Odes' and 'Epistles'. In his satiric play *Poetaster* (1601), he even cast himself as the Horace of the *Satires*, freely rewriting several *Sermones*.² The comedy, which stages a rivalry between Horace and other poets (Ovid, Virgil, Tibullus, and Crispinus), ends on a complete vindication of Horace, who is eventually praised by Augustus for his 'free and wholesome sharpness / Which pleaseth Caesar more than servile fawns' (5.1.94–5).³ It seems clear that Jonson identified with Horace and appropriated his poetic modes and rhetorical ethos.⁴

Given the explicit importance of Horace for Jonson's works, it is surprising that his translation of Horace's *Ars Poetica* should have been so

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consistently overlooked by critics.⁵ As Moul, again, remarks, ‘Jonson’s close translations (as opposed to his imitative practice more generally) have not been the subject of much serious study, and are often dismissed as examples of “literal” or “word by word” translation of the most stultifying kind.’⁶ Later in the seventeenth century, Dryden even described Jonson’s *Art of Poetry* as an example of ‘metaphrase’ (or word-for-word translation), which limits itself to ‘the compass of numbers and the slavery of rhymes’. Writing on the cusp of an age that increasingly came to value neoclassical clarity, he blamed its obscurity, which he attributed to its self-imposed constraint of closeness—‘much like dancing on ropes with fettered legs’:

We see Ben. Johnson [sic] could not avoid obscurity in his literal Translation of Horace, attempted in the same compass of Lines: nay Horace himself could scarce have done it to a Greek Poet; ... either perspicuity or gracefulness will frequently be wanting.⁷

In spite of D. M. Hooley’s study showing that Jonson’s version of *The Art of Poetry* compared favourably with other contemporary translations from the Classics, it is still often described as an embarrassingly ‘dogged’ exercise in literal translation.⁸ This essay intends to remedy in part this neglect of the work by focusing on the paratext (and peritext) of its first edition, which was published posthumously in 1640 by the bookseller John Benson as *Q. Horatius Flaccus: His Art of Poetry. Englished by Ben. Jonson*.⁹

In his study of the uses of paratext in printed books in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Michael Saenger has focused on the complex relationships staged by authors, publishers, and printers with their readers through the ‘textual engagements’ of the liminal apparatus, which he sees as ‘contemporary ways of understanding and marketing relations between readers and books’.¹⁰ Saenger reminds us of the significance of the paratextual material for our understanding of a work’s definition and appeal to an early modern readership, but also, more widely, for early notions of authorship and projected reception. Because Benson’s 1640 *Art of Poetry* was published posthumously, and because (as will be apparent) his text has not been retained as the authoritative copy-text for Jonson’s translation by the critical tradition, it has been generally assumed that its paratextual material had nothing to say either about the Jonsonian rhetoric of authorship, or about the translation—as if the disqualification

of the edition by modern editors somehow rendered the paratextual apparatus obsolete and inconsequential. As a result, it has more or less disappeared from the radar, and, actually like many paratexts, is not reproduced in modern editions.¹¹

Yet, although not theoretical or even translation-specific, it reflects, and also advertises, an informed interpretation of Jonson's accomplishment as a translator and author. While it must naturally be seen as part of an editorial marketing strategy aiming at promoting the publication as a literary event, there is more to it than just a promotional tactic: as will be apparent, the paratext highlights the importance of Jonson's translation of Horace's *Art of Poetry* for a full understanding of his oeuvre as a whole. As such, it must be considered as a pertinent piece of literary criticism. By blurring the distinction between Horace and Jonson, it presents *The Art of Poetry* as the latter's own poetic manifesto, and treats the translation as an original work, collapsing the roles of author and translator. The liminal apparatus can therefore also be read as a document on the changing, ambivalent status of translation, a phenomenon which cannot simply be summarised by its increasing commodification. Benson also politicises the translation by framing it with coded royalist references, in particular in the very last poem of the paratext, which emphasises Jonson's loyalty to his king—an aspect of Jonson's oeuvre echoed in the volume itself in the 'Epigrams' published as a separate section. This politicisation of the paratext aligns Benson's *Art of Poetry* with his other recent 'Cavalier' publications, such as the English translation of Malvezzi's *Romulus and Tarquin* (1637), discussed in detail by Iamartino and Manzi in this volume, and, more vitally perhaps, with his edition of Shakespeare's *Poems*, also published in 1640. Seen as a counterpart of the Shakespeare volume, the Benson edition of Jonson's *Art of Poetry* illustrates the plasticity and versatility of translation as a genre in the period, and its permeability to contexts other than purely literary.

* * *

The modern perception of Jonson's *Art of Poetry* as crabbed and second-rate can perhaps best be explained by the fact that it was not published in his lifetime. The history of this delay is fraught with uncertainties. In 1640 no fewer than two different posthumous editions of the translation appeared, to add to the modern scholar's perplexity. The edition which is the focus of this essay is a duodecimo printed by J. Okes for John Benson

under the title, *Q. Horatius Flaccus: His Art of Poetry. Englished by Ben: Jonson. With other Workes of the Author, never Printed before*. The volume includes three additional works by Jonson, *Ben: Jonson's Execrations upon VVulcan*, *The Masque of Gypsies*, and *Epigrams to Severall Noble Personages* (published in that order), all of which are advertised as hitherto unpublished, although this was clearly not the case, since Benson had just issued the *Execrations* and the *Epigrams* as a separate miscellany. This juxtaposition between Jonson's Horace translation and his original texts immediately blurs the distinction between original and translated works, an adequate reflection of 'the indeterminate textual status' of translation in the period.¹² This can also be perceived in the confusion, voluntarily introduced, between the translator and the author on the title-page (Fig. 10.1): it is in fact the translator who is advertised as 'the Author', the person who

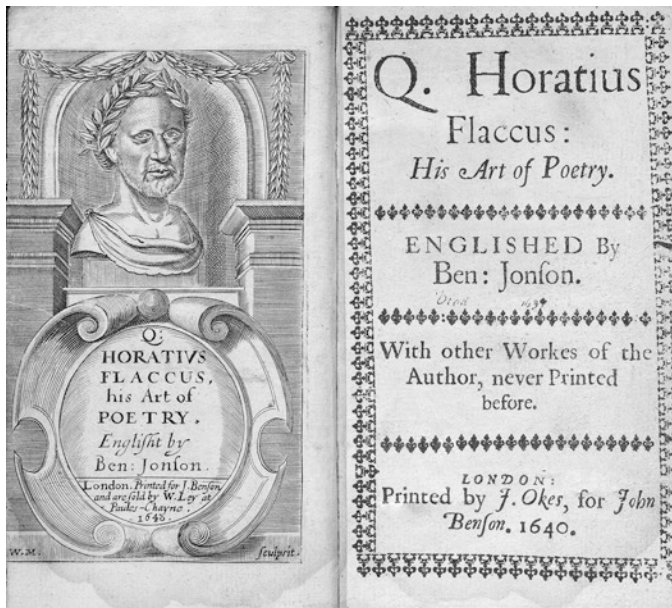


Fig. 10.1 *Q. Horatius Flaccus: His Art of Poetry. Englished by Ben: Jonson. With other Workes of the Author, never Printed before* (London: Printed by J[ames] O[kes] for John Benson [and Andrew Crooke], 1640), frontispiece and title-page. (By permission of The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford (shelfmark: Douce G 60))

has written 'other Workes' in the volume, a bold statement which makes the reader pause and wonder whether 'the Author' of *Q. Horatius Flaccus: His Art of Poetry* is Horace or Jonson. This confusion can also be perceived in the frontispiece portrait, discussed below. The title-page adds that the Horatian treatise was 'Englished', not 'translated'—a subtle nuance, which might suggest that the work involved in translating is a noble form of linguistic *translatio*, implying the incorporation of a classical text into the national culture, rather than the ancillary labour of a more pedestrian 'translator'. This complex title-page confirms Warren Boutcher's insightful comment that we should indeed read Renaissance translations as 'original' works¹³—a point also made in the paratext of the *Art of Poetry*.

This text is usually believed to be the version Jonson announced as imminent, together with its commentary, in the dedicatory epistle 'To the Readers' of the 1605 quarto of *Sejanus*: 'But of this I shall take more seasonable cause to speak, in my observations upon Horace his *Art of Poetry*, which, with the text translated, I intend shortly to publish.'¹⁴ His friend Drummond of Hawthornden confirms this, indicating that the translation was 'done in my Lord Aubagnies house 10 years since, anno 1604'.¹⁵ More intriguingly, Drummond also attests, in 1619, to the existence of a preface written by Jonson for this (or another) translation: '[T]o me he [Jonson] read the Preface of his arte of Poesie, upon Horace Arte of poesie'.¹⁶ Sadly, this preface was apparently lost in the fire that destroyed Jonson's papers and a good part of his library in 1623. Jonson never published his *Art of Poetry*, perhaps because he was dissatisfied with his work, or, as has been suggested, because he decided to revise the translation to follow Daniel Heinsius's new edition of the *Ars Poetica*, published in 1610.¹⁷

A revised version of *The Art of Poetry* was published, also posthumously, in the folio volume of Jonson's *Workes* printed by John Beale et al. for Richard Meighen, Thomas Walkley, and Robert Allot as *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson. The second volume*. A parallel-text edition, it is dated 1640 but was in fact published in 1641. In order to clarify Horace's notoriously obscure text, Heinsius had made suggestions for rearranging the text, a project now considered misguided, but which obviously appealed to Jonson.¹⁸ To comply with Heinsius's new edition, Jonson reordered the lines and thoroughly revised the translation. Because this revised text was

not included in the 1616 Folio, it has been surmised, either that it was completed at a later stage, or that Jonson was unhappy about the result.¹⁹ This version is the one that is chosen as copy-text for the *Art of Poetry* in all the recent editions of Jonson's works, on the grounds that it is supposed to represent the author's 'last thoughts' on the text—although with Jonson this can be a problematic concept.²⁰ The Benson version has consistently been treated by Jonson's modern editors as having less authority than the Folio version because it is believed not to represent the author's 'final intentions': Herford and Simpson thus relegate the Benson text to an appendix of Jonson's *Works* and the recent Cambridge Edition to the electronic interface.²¹

The dual publication of this text in 1640 led to legal complications. Thomas Walkley had bought the rights to Jonson's remaining works from his literary executor, Kenelm Digby, but apparently failed to register the titles. Benson, meanwhile, was working independently from different source texts and had them registered. The tangle over rights was eventually sorted out to the dissatisfaction of Walkley, whose publication of Jonson's second Folio was delayed as a result, and Benson's issue of the *Art of Poetry* appeared first. The volume squarely foregrounds the translation as central to Jonson's oeuvre by making it the centrepiece of the miscellany on the title-page and framing it with a substantial paratextual apparatus of fifteen pages. In the folio version, the *Art of Poetry* was published without any paratexts, almost surreptitiously, as a subsection of a much larger collection, and without any announcement on the title-page. In contrast, the first piece in the Benson paratexts, a dedicatory epistle to Lord Windsor, immediately echoes the title-page by singling out the Horace translation as an '*Elaborate Peece ... which Book amongst the rest of [Jonson's] Strenuous and Sinewy Labours, for its rare profundity, may challenge a just admiration of the Learned in this and future Ages, and crowne his name with a lasting memory of dying glory!*' (sigs. A5^v–A6). The paratextual apparatus consists of seven items: the *imprimatur* on the verso of a first blank page, which therefore comes first and in large type, a proud assertion of the book's legitimacy; on the verso of the next page, the author's portrait by W[illiam] M[arshall] facing the title-page; Benson's epistle to Lord Windsor; a six-line epigram by Herbert of Cherbury; and three longer poems by Barton Holyday, Zouch Tounley, and I. C., identified by Malone and Herford and Simpson as James Clayton and by Gifford as John Cleveland, although the latter claim has not been retained by recent criticism (sigs. A5–[A12]).²² This is a heterogeneous

line-up: Thomas, 6th Baron Windsor (1591–1642), to whom Benson had already dedicated the thin Quarto miscellany of *Ben: Ionson's execration against Vulcan: VVith divers epigrams by the same author to severall noble personages in this kingdome. Never published before*, published just a few weeks before, might have served both as a patron and aristocratic warrant:²³ a prominent Catholic courtier, Windsor enjoyed a continuing reputation as a patron of letters and owned a large library. His wife had danced in at least two of Jonson's Masques.²⁴ Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1583–1648), who is here given his full titles ('Knight of the Bath, Ordinary Embassadour of His Majesty of Great Brittain with the French King'), was a respected intellectual figure with a distinguished aristocratic background, and was himself a poet. The next two authors point to Oxford connections: Barton Holyday (or Barten Holiday), a clergyman, was appointed Archdeacon of Oxford in 1626; he had a reputation as a wit and a scholar, and had already published translations of Juvenal and Persus Flaccus. He also had a special interest in Horace, and was to publish a new translation of Horace's *Odes* in 1653 as *All Horace his Lyrics*.²⁵ Zouch Tounley (Townley), an Oxford cleric and minor poet, who ran into trouble with the authorities for writing libellous verses in the 1620s, belonged to Jonson's circle.²⁶ The last and most substantial poem, by I. C., entitled 'Ode to Ben Jonson Upon his Ode to himself', has a clear royalist subtext. It is also based on an intertextual game with the last of Jonson's Epigrams published in the volume, the 'Ode upon himself.'

Before analysing these paratexts, however, it is necessary to understand how this book fitted in with Benson's editorial policy—contiguity is highly significant here. As already apparent, 1640 was a busy editorial year for *Jonsoniana* (and for Benson), in the wake of Jonson's death in 1637 and the collective miscellany published to honour his memory, *Ionsonus virbius, or The memorie of Ben: Johnson revived by the friends of the muses* (London: E. P[urslow] for H. Seile, 1638), and before the publication of the 1640/1 second Folio and its second volume of hitherto unpublished material. John Benson (who died in 1667) was in 1640 an up-and-coming bookseller. After beginning his career as a stationer, he kept shops in Chancery Lane (around 1635) and St Dunstan's Churchyard in Fleet Street (around 1640). He initially published religious works, ballads, and broadsides, but also some drama, including *The shepheards holy-day. A pastorall tragi-comedie* by Joseph Rutter (London: Printed by N[icholas] and [John] Okes for John Benson, 1635) and, in collaboration with Waterson, *The Elder Brother* by Fletcher and Massinger (London: imprinted by

F[elix] K[ingston] for J. W[aterson] and J. B[enson], 1637). His politics seem to have obeyed opportunistic motivations rather than a clearly thought-out career path, although, in the context of the increasingly polarised politics of the late 1630s and 1640s, he is known to have published several ostentatiously royalist works, such as the Malvezzi translation mentioned above. In his later career he teamed up with John Playford, and published music books.²⁷

Benson's greatest claim to fame is perhaps his controversial edition of Shakespeare's *Poems. Written by Wil. Shake-speare. Gent.*, printed in 1640 by Thomas Cotes, who had produced Shakespeare's 1632 second Folio. The *Poems*, which have long been considered as little better than a pirated edition of the Thomas Thorpe 1609 edition, were entered on 4 November 1639, just a few months before Jonson's *Art of Poetry*.²⁸ It has sometimes been described as a 'bowdlerized' edition of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, because of Benson's heavy-handed editorial treatment of the sonnets.²⁹ The miscellany also included poems from *The Passionate Pilgrim*, *A Lover's Complaint*, and 'The Phoenix and the Turtle', and verse by other poets. The success of the volume was such that it remained a reference for all subsequent editions of the sonnets until Malone's 1780 edition.³⁰ The coincidence between Benson's editions of Jonson's *Art of Poetry* and of Shakespeare's *Poems* is far from anecdotal. The two miscellanies must be seen part of the bookseller's strategy to establish himself as a serious publisher of literature. The Benson editions of Shakespeare and of Jonson share many characteristics: both capitalise on the status of two of the most popular, established authors of their age while tailoring their works to the tastes of the public of the day, and both collections are miscellanies that qualify as 'exercise[s] in canon building'.³¹ Benson aimed at presenting both Shakespeare and Jonson as products of a refined, royalist culture at a time when it was coming under threat, in the context, in the late 1630s and early 1640s, of mounting opposition to Charles I's personal rule and growing unrest in Scotland. This is the moment when single-author miscellanies by past and present poets associated with the court, and volumes masquerading as such, began to appear in quick succession.³² 1640 alone also saw the publication of the poems of the emblematic Caroline poet Thomas Carew, who had just died, as well as miscellanies of Francis Beaumont and Thomas Randolph, for instance.³³ The Shakespeare and Jonson editions must be seen as part of this trend.

That the Benson edition of Shakespeare's *Poems* gave a Cavalier spin to the volume is obvious from the emphasis on the gentlemanly status of Shakespeare on the title-page ('*Wil. Shake-speare. Gent.*'), the book's format

(a small octavo, four by six inches, a rather elite format for poetry), and the frontispiece portrait by William Marshall, a prominent engraver who also designed the frontispiece of Malvezzi's *Romulus and Tarquin*, and, later, the frontispiece of *Eikon Basilike*.³⁴ The engraving is derived from the Droeshout portrait of the First Folio, but the addition of a dapper Cavalier cape suggests a more contemporary aristocratic sartorial fashion, while the bays in the poet's hands indicate his status as a canonised author (Fig. 10.2). Significantly, however, Shakespeare is not *crowned* with bays, which might have given him a more classical appearance. David Barker convincingly argues for the 'packaging' of the *Poems* 'in the Cavalier mode';³⁵ he also, perhaps more surprisingly, suggests that Benson was trying to adapt Shakespeare for a contemporary readership by presenting him as a Jonsonian poet by emphasising his smoothness and clarity of diction in the epistle to

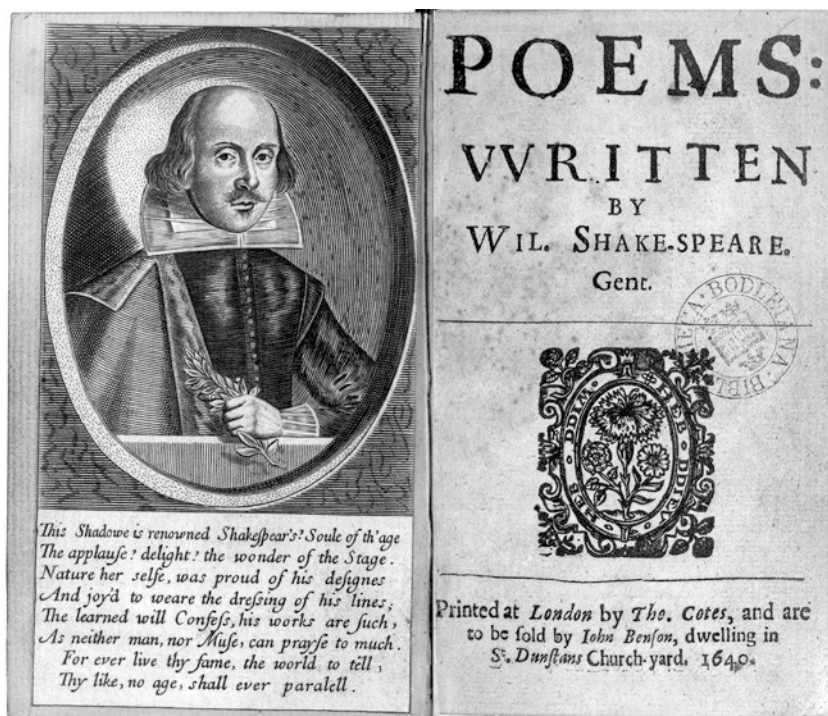


Fig. 10.2 *Poems. Written by Wil. Shake-speare. Gent.* (London: Thomas Cotes for John Benson, 1640), frontispiece and title-page. (Reproduced by permission of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford (shelfmark: Arch G. f. 4))

the reader, two qualities more commonly associated with Jonson and his followers than with Shakespeare: ‘Seren, cleere and elegantly plaine ..., no intricate or cloudy stuffe to puzzell intellect, but perfect eloquence’ (sig. *2^v).³⁶ Although Barker rightly emphasises the connection between the two poets, who are repeatedly gauged against each other, his interpretation is contradicted by the first of the dedicatory poems, by Leonard Digges, whose association with the 1623 First Folio might have been used to hype the 1640 volume as a companion piece. In his poem, Shakespeare is singled out as towering above the ‘upstart Writers ..., needy Poetasters of this Age’, whose tedious, ‘though well-laboured *Catalines*’ (and other Sejanuses) bore to tears when Shakespeare’s plays enchant audiences (sig. *3^v)—an obvious allusion to Jonson. A seventeenth-century reader might here have recognised two contemporary allusions: firstly, Greene’s aspersion on Shakespeare (here reversed), which had described him in 1598 as ‘an upstart Crow, beautified with our feathers’,³⁷ and secondly, the commonplace inaugurated in the paratext of the 1623 First Folio that depicted Shakespeare as the poet of nature, the natural genius, from whom ‘wee have scarce received ... a blot in his papers’.³⁸ This attitude towards writing seems to have fuelled contemporary perceptions of Jonson and Shakespeare as ‘mighty opposites’—even though Jonson’s poem was the first tribute in the First Folio paratext. Digges’s 1640 dedicatory poem to Shakespeare reverses Greene’s earlier accusations of plagiarism by framing the debate in terms of the two poets’ different relationships to their sources. Pitting laborious Jonson against Shakespeare as the poet of nature in terms that have become familiar in the critical tradition, the poem opposes two attitudes to imitation. While Shakespeare is celebrated as the poet of true wit, who never borrowed a line, Jonson indirectly finds himself cast as one of many plodding plagiarists for his reliance on imitation and translation:

... [L]ooke thorow
This whole Booke, thou shalt find he doth not borrow,
One phrase from Greekes, nor Latines imitate,
Nor once from vulgar Languages Translate,
Nor Plagiari-like from others gleane ...³⁹

By firmly holding his bays in his left hand rather than being crowned with them, the Shakespeare of the portrait seems to refuse the conventional association with a classical author, while suggesting his contempt for the prizes and honours awarded to poets. This nonchalant attitude, which

suggests *sprezzatura*, aligns Shakespeare with the courtly poet of the age. It has been argued, in fact, that the juxtaposition in the volume of Shakespeare's sonnets, often merged into longer pieces, with poems by authors popular in the 1630s such as Jonson or Herrick, was a way of turning 'an out-of-date sonnet sequence into a single-author miscellany', more attuned to current trends and styles.⁴⁰ The frontispiece portrait, with the combination of the cape and bays, endorses this revamping of Shakespeare as a Cavalier gentlemanly poet, adroitly recuperating the popularity of an author now long dead to fashion him into a more contemporary writer.

Other intriguing connections between the 1640 edition of Jonson's *Art of Poetry* and Shakespeare's *Poems* can be pointed out: both are small volumes (a duodecimo in the case of the Jonson, a small octavo for the Shakespeare), which is consistent with leisurely reading, and both include paratexts, with a frontispiece portrait by William Marshall. Yet Jonson's portrait, also used for Benson's earlier 1640 edition of *Execration*, is markedly different from the portrait of Shakespeare used for the *Poems*. Benson had a different niche in mind for his Jonson. With only a remote relationship with Robert Vaughan's famous portrait of Jonson (first printed in 1622), which was going to be used for the 1640 Second Folio of his works,⁴¹ this is a laurel-wreathed bust portrait of the poet in a neoclassical niche, represented *all' antica*, with bare shoulders and draped in a toga (see Fig. 10.1 above).⁴² By emulating a piece of classical sculpture, the portrait suggests that Jonson has himself become monumentalised as a classical poet, Horace himself in fact, with whom he shares the inscription in a medallion underneath the portrait—*HORATIUS FLACCUS, his Art of POETRY. Englisht by Ben: Jonson*. The message is immediately reasserted by Lord Herbert of Cherbury in the first preliminary poem, in an epigram which plays on the reversal between model and emulator: "Twas not enough, *Ben Ionson*, to be thought / Of English Poets best, but to have brought / In greater state, to their acquaintance, one / Made equall to himselfe and thee; that none / Might be thy second: while thy glory is / To be the Horace of our times, and his' (sig. A6v). Although the syntax is awkward, the conceit, based on a paradox and a tautology, is that by making Horace available to the English public, Jonson has turned himself into the Horace of his own time as well as of 'his' (Horace's) times. In other words, by tautologically becoming Horace's Horace, Jonson has supplanted Horace: the translator has absorbed and become the author.

This rather far-fetched conceit is endorsed by the next two pieces. Holyday's epode offers extravagant praise and is the only paratextual poem to bear specifically on the translation; it thus fulfils what one expects from the conventions of the epideictic genre in such circumstances. It presents itself as a response to both Sir John Suckling's famous poem 'A Session of the Poets' (written in 1637 and widely circulated in manuscript) and Leonard Digges's paratextual poem in Benson's edition of Shakespeare. As such it is one more piece fuelling (and exploiting) the posthumous tug of war between the 'mighty opposites'. Holyday first extravagantly praises Jonson's translation of the *Art of Poetry* for setting rules for others to follow; he then moves on to celebrate Jonson as an arbiter or a judge of other poets, in terms reminiscent of Suckling's poem, but thoroughly revised. Suckling's satire takes the form of a trial for the bays, and was probably inspired by Trajano Boccalini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso*: it shows a host of poets including Jonson competing for the bays and making their cases in front of Apollo. In response to Jonson's claim that he has 'purg'd the stage / Of errors', Apollo sharply rebukes him for his arrogance, which causes his furious rage: 'Twas merit, he said, and not presumption / Must carry it'.⁴³ In Holyday's poem, Jonson is himself cast as a stern Apollo-like figure, but he summons all the poets of the past to his 'judgement hall' (rather than the living poets as in Suckling's satire), 'Whiles, at these frightning Sessions, [he doth] sit, / The searching Judge of wit'.⁴⁴ All the classical authors, however, are found wanting, including Horace himself, although, Holyday adds, 'thou makst him excell' in the translation of the *Art of Poetry* (sig. [A9]). Far from being a poor substitute for the Latin text, then, Jonson's translation perfects Horace because it enriches the original, a point also made by Townley in the next poem, which reverses the usual argument about *translatio studii*.⁴⁵ Holyday finally suggests that Horace's *Ars Poetica* should be read as Jonson's very own 'art of poetry':

Master of Art, and Fame! who here makst knowne
To all, how all thine owne
Well-bodied works were fram'd, whilst here we see
Their fine Anatomie. (sig. [A9])

In translating Horace, Jonson offers an anatomy of his own poetry, thus proving himself to be his own best critic by revealing his works' secret inner workings to the public. The reflexiveness is fascinating here: while the *Art of Poetry* serves as a touchstone to gauge other authors, it also offers the key to Jonson's own work.

Holyday's epode, however, is written in the tradition of the genre of blame, in the manner of some of Jonson's own epodes in fact: after showing Jonson finding faults with a series of classical authors, it ends on a paradoxical blame-cum-praise of Jonson himself. Holyday finds two reasons for which to blame Jonson's translation. The first, as noted by Marie-Alice Belle, is that the poet has fallen short of the Horatian precept of *celare artem*, the virtue of concealing art—a potentially serious criticism for a new Horace, which again echoes, indirectly, Leonard Digges's valorisation of ease over complexity and labour:

Yet, in mild truth, this worke hath some defect,
As now I dare object:
Thou err'st against a workmans rarest part,
Which is to hide his Art.⁴⁶

The second reason is in fact articulated as a paradoxical expression of praise: it is Jonson's own fault, Holyday argues, if no one can write an appropriate encomium of his achievement, because he has raised standards to unreachable heights: 'None can teach / A verse, thy worth to reach' (sig. [A9^v]). Townley's ode 'To Mr. Jonson' continues Holyday's classical theme by presenting Jonson as the heir and interpreter of classical culture as a whole, which is thus mediated, and translated, allowing readers to 'understand the faith of ancient skill, / Drawn from the Tragick, Comick, Lyrick quill: / The Greek and Roman denison'd by thee / And both made richer in thy Poetry' (sig. [A10]). Although not new, the term 'denison'd' points here to the prevalence of the trope of domestication or naturalisation in translation theory in the period.

The final poem in the paratextual section, 'Ode. To Ben Jonson Upon his Ode to himselfe' (by I. C.), is probably the most astute reading of Jonson in the volume, although it is not about the *Art of Poetry* as such. It is a difficult, erudite poem, which ostentatiously stages its own learning by having the poem interrupted by a long footnote—a homage, perhaps, to Jonson's own, sometimes invasive, erudition.⁴⁷ I. C.'s poem presents itself as a witty, intertextual response to Jonson's Horatian 'Ode to himself upon the Censure of his *New Inn*', written in response to the failure of the play in 1629, which is reproduced at the end of the volume. This is perhaps one of Jonson's most emblematic poems, where he establishes himself as a follower of Horace, as well as of Anacreon and Pindar. As D. M. Hooley has shown, this bitter piece dramatises a new

departure in Jonson's poetic career, the refashioning of self into a lyric persona in opposition to the poet of the stage.⁴⁸ In the first stanza, Jonson expresses his spite and contempt for his age, and what he sees as the decadence of the stage. He then moves on to declaring his allegiance to his own personal pantheon of classical authors and to new poetic modes, the lyricism of Horace, Anacreon, and Pindar—a generic, aesthetic, as well as political choice to counter what he sees as the detestable tastes of the undiscerning crowd, in an echo of Horace's *Satire* I. 10:

Leave things so prostitute,
And take th' *Alcaike* Lute;
Or thine own *Horace*, or *Anacreons* Lyre;
Warme thee by *Pindars* fire;
[...]
Strike that disdainfull heat
Throughout, to their defeat:
As curious fooles, and envious of thy straine,
May blushing sweare, no Palsie's in thy brain. (p. 137)

Jonson closes this lyrical piece in true Horatian manner with a lengthy paean to his Maecenas, King Charles I, ending with the lines: 'When they shall read the Acts of *Charles* his reigne, / And see his Chariot triumph 'bove his waine' (pp. 137–8). I. C. wittily reverses the initial ode's premises: far from meeting with failure, Jonson has been successful in reforming and redeeming the English stage. If England is now at last capable of emulating ancient Greece and Rome, he must be praised for it:

Proceed in thy brave rage,
Which hath rais'd up our Stage
Unto that height, as Rome in all her state,
Or Greece might emulate ... (sig. [A10]")

He finally describes Jonson as 'The Prince of Poets' in the lyrical mode. As argued by Hooley, Jonson often literally adopts a Horatian diction in his poetry, melding his style into Horace's.⁴⁹ This is so much the case that it is sometimes almost impossible to say whether his poems are imitations or actual translations of Horace—a form of hybridity of diction which Joanna Martindale has described as Jonsonian-Horatian.⁵⁰ I. C. mimetically operates the same merging of imitation and re-creation by writing in his turn a Jonsonian Horatian ode, in a striking act of ventriloquism:

Sing English *Horace*, sing
 The wonder of thy King;
 Whilst his triumphant Chariot runs his whole
 Bright course about each Pole:
 Sing downe the *Roman* Harper; he shall raine
 His bounties on thy vaine:
 And with his golden Rayes,
 So guild thy glorious Bayes:
 That Fame shall beare on her unwearied wing,
 What the best Poet sung of the best King. (sig. [A12]^v)

This poem, with its defiant, unashamed royalism, would have resonated as a highly politicised work in the context of mounting opposition to the monarchy in 1640. It brings out the Cavalier associations which the volume had already suggested through the identity of the dedicatee and the enumeration of Cherbury's titles. By associating the praise of Jonson with the praise of his king, I. C. makes of Jonson his king's poet, a resounding amplification of the political argument on which Jonson's own Ode (written in a very different context) had ended. I. C.'s poem clearly has a polemic dimension, and because it is placed at the end of the introductory section, it retrospectively gives the whole paratextual matter a Cavalier resonance. The paratexts in *The Art of Poetry* constitute in turn a framing device for Jonson's 'Epigrams', printed last in the collection (pp. 95–138), which are addressed to the king, the queen, and prominent courtiers. Although these poems were written much earlier, in a less charged context, they would have been read in 1640 as politically resonant. The paratext can thus be seen both as a piece of literary criticism and as a politically coded argument: cleverly using his poems as evidence, it turns Jonson into a Cavalier poet, loyal to his king.

* * *

The complete paratextual apparatus of the Benson edition of Jonson's *Art of Poetry*, augmented with sundry works, illustrates the increasing commodification, potential politicisation, and, beyond, the cultural significance of translation in the period. Jonson's translation is given an ambivalent status: it is presented as an original piece written by two co-authors, Jonson *and* Horace, voluntarily collapsed into one, as is evidenced in the portrait of Jonson *as* Horace. It is clear that Benson deemed

the translation of the *Art of Poetry* desirable enough to deserve a full title-page and a preliminary set of paratextual poems, although he maximised its impact (and his potential gains) by also releasing separate editions of *Execration against Vulcan with divers Epigrams*. The edition of the translation, complete with its liminal texts and portrait, clearly takes its cue from Jonson's self-fashioning as a Horatian poet elsewhere in his work, but by endorsing it, the paratexts in turn contribute to reinforcing this identification. As such, it serves the enterprise of canon-building that can also be observed in the simultaneous Shakespeare edition.

There is no doubt that this reliance on Jonson's self-fashioning was part of Benson's editorial and commercial strategy, as a way of valorising his edition; this emerged at the right moment to capitalise on Jonson's reputation while contributing to it. But the comparison with the apparently more ambitious edition of Shakespeare's *Poems*, published in the same year, also tells us that for a mercenary but astute bookseller like Benson there was obviously money to be made from a Jonson book advertising itself as being primarily a translation of *The Art of Poetry*. It is striking for instance that the volume includes a hitherto unpublished work by Jonson, *The Masque of Gypsies*, which could equally have been publicised as the focus of the volume, but is not. Far from being treated as the scraps of Jonson's production, the translation of the *Art of Poetry* wields symbolic, literary, and commercial value, reflecting the integration of translation into mainstream commercial print culture.

NOTES

1. Victoria Moul, *Jonson, Horace and the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 3. See also Robert B. Pierce, 'Ben Jonson's Horace and Horace's Ben Jonson', *Studies in Philology*, 78.1 (1981), 20–31; Richard S. Peterson, *Imitation and Praise in the Poems of Ben Jonson* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981); Richard Helgerson, *Self-Crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton, and the Literary System* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); Joanna Martindale, 'The Best Master of Virtue and Wisdom: The Horace of Ben Jonson and his Heirs', in *Horace Made New: Horatian Influences on British Writing from the Renaissance to the Twentieth Century*, edited by Charles Martindale and David Hopkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 50–85; and more recently Marie-Alice Belle, 'Autour de la question des "communautés de lecteurs": Discours liminaire et *amicitia* horatienne chez Jonson et ses contemporains', in *Horace et l'invention de*

- la vie privée*, edited by Line Cottegnies, Nathalie Dauvois, and Béatrice Delignon (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2017), pp. 359–80.
2. Ben Jonson, *Poetaster or The arraignment, as it hath beene sundry times priuately acted in the Blacke Friers, by the children of her Maiesties Chappell* (London: M. Lownes, 1602).
 3. See Gabriela Schmidt, 'Enacting the Classics: Translation and Authorship in Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*', in *Elizabethan Translation and Literary Culture*, edited by Gabriela Schmidt (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), pp. 111–45. This did not go without prompting acrimonious responses from some of Jonson's contemporaries, most particularly John Marston and Thomas Dekker, who were the butts of Jonson's satire in *Poetaster*. See in particular Matthew Steggle, 'Horace the Second, or Ben Jonson, Thomas Dekker, and the Battle for Augustan Rome', in *The Author as Character: Representing Historical Writers in Western Literature*, edited by P. Franssen and A. J. Hoenselaars (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999), pp. 118–30.
 4. See in particular Marie-Alice Belle, '(Auto-)portraits de l'auteur en traducteur: autorité horacienne et *ethos* du traducteur en Angleterre au xvii^e siècle', *Camenae*, 17 (2015), 1–15.
 5. An exception is Victoria Moul, 'Translation as Commentary? The Case of Ben Jonson's *Ars Poetica*', *Palimpsestes*, 20 (2007), 59–77, and *Jonson, Horace and the Classical Tradition*, pp. 175–8.
 6. Moul, 'Translation as Commentary?', p. 59.
 7. *Essays of John Dryden*, edited by W. P. Kerr, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), I, p. 238. For Roscommon's criticism of the same translation in the preface of his own 1680 version of the *Art of Poetry*, see Dillon Wentworth, Earl of Roscommon, *An Essay of Translated Verse* (London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, 1684), sig. A2.
 8. D. M. Hooley, '"But Above All He Excelleth in a Translation": Ben Jonson's Horace', in 'A Certain Text': *Close Readings and Textual Studies on Shakespeare and Others. In Honor of Thomas Clayton*, edited by Linda Anderson and Janis Lull (Newark: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Presses, 2002), pp. 150–72; for a negative appreciation, see Charles Martindale, 'Unlocking the Word-Hoard: In Praise of Metaphrase', *Comparative Criticism*, 6 (1984), 47–72 (54).
 9. See Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
 10. Michael Saenger, *The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 3, 4.
 11. A notable critical exception is Marie-Alice Belle's study of the paratexts in all editions of Horace in the period, including this 1640 one. Marie-Alice Belle, 'Horace Englished: Modes de l'appropriation dans le paratexte des

- traductions anglaises des œuvres d'Horace (1557–1640)', in *À chacun son Horace. Horace dans les débats poétiques en France et en Europe aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, edited by Nathalie Dauvois, Michel Jourde, and Jean-Charles Montferrand (Paris: Champion, forthcoming).
12. Neil Rhodes, 'Status Anxiety and English Renaissance Translation', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, edited by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 107–20.
 13. Warren Boutcher, 'The Renaissance', in *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, edited by Peter France (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 45–55 (p. 46).
 14. 'To the Readers', in *Sejanus His Fall* [1605], edited by Philip Ayres, The Revels Plays (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), p. 50.
 15. *Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden*, edited by R. F. Patterson (London and Glasgow: Blackie & Sons, 1923), p. 9.
 16. *Ben Jonson's Conversations*, pp. 82–3.
 17. In his 1816 edition of Jonson's works, William Gifford mentions the existence of three different extant versions of Jonson's first draft of the *Ars Poetica*, which differ sometimes significantly; however, no manuscript for this version has emerged, although four manuscript extracts from the second edition, which is described below, are listed in the online *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450–1700*. See William Gifford, ed., *The Works of Ben Jonson in 9 Volumes* (London: Printed for G. and W. Nicol et al., 1816), Vol. 9, p. 76: 'Many transcripts of this version got abroad; these differed considerably from one another, and all perhaps, from the original copy. In the three which have reached us, though all were published nearly at the same time, variations occur in almost every line.' He does not give any details about locations, however. For the four manuscript extracts, see CELM, online: http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/authors/jonsonben.html#bodleian-rawlinson-other_id512843, accessed 15 July 2016.
 18. Daniel Heinsius, ed., *Q. Horatii Flacci Opera Omnia, cum notis D. Heinsii. Accedit Horatii ad Pisones epistola, Aristotelis de poetica libellus* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1610).
 19. See Colin Burrow, 'Introduction' to *The Art of Poetry*, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, edited by David Bevington, Martin Butler, and Ian Donaldson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), Vol. 7, pp. 3–8.
 20. For textual choices, see Burrow, 'Introduction', pp. 10–67. Jonson, however, is notorious for revising his texts at every opportunity, even after they had been published, which casts doubt on the validity of such a way of thinking about his texts. For a useful distinction between 'new intentions'

- and 'final intentions' see for instance G. T. Tanselle, 'The Editorial Problem of Final Authorial Intention', *Studies in Bibliography*, 29 (1976), 167–211.
21. *Ben Jonson*, edited by C. H. Herford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson, 11 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925–53), hereafter *Ben Jonson*; *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, online: <http://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/>, accessed 15 July 2016.
 22. Michael Hattaway cautiously agrees that I. C. may be Clayton and finds Gifford's attribution to John Cleveland 'unlikely' (*The New Inn. Ben Jonson*, edited by Michael Hattaway, The Revels Plays (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1984), p. 213, note 1). See also Herford and Simpson's *Ben Jonson*, Vol. 11, pp. 429, 451. For the Gifford attribution, see *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, Vol. 5, p. 453. The poem is not retained in the canon of Cleveland's works by the editors of his poetry, Brian Morris and Eleanor Withington, however (*The Poems of John Cleveland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967)). Neither are the two poems attributed to a 'I. Cl' in memory of Ben Jonson and published in *Jonsonius Virbius* (London: E. P[ur]slowe], 1638), which are perhaps by the same James Clayton (pp. 27–8).
 23. *Ben: Ionson's execration against Vulcan; With divers epigrams by the same author to severall noble personages in this kingdome. Never published before* (London: Printed by J[ames] O[kes] for John Benson, 1640). The imprimatur states that it was issued on 14 December 1639 and published in 1640 (while the Horace volume, also published in 1640, was only authorised on 12 February 1639/1640). It seems that Benson had in the meantime come across a text of *The Masque of Gypsies*, which justified a new edition, but the 'novelty' of the 1640 volume was hyped.
 24. On Windsor as a bibliophile, see David Rogers, 'Antony Batt: A Forgotten Benedictine Translator', in *Studies in Seventeenth-Century English Literature: History and Bibliography*, edited by Gerardus Antonius Maria Janssens and Flor G. A. M. Aarts (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1984), pp. 179–94 (p. 187). Catherine Somerset, Lady Windsor had danced in *The Masque of Beauty* and *The Masque of Queens* (see *The Jonson Encyclopedia*, edited by D. Heyward Brock and Maria Palacas (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), p. 326).
 25. His translation of Horace, whose 'main concern was with Horace's metre', seems to have met with approval. See Valerie Edden, 'The Best of Lyrick Poets', in *Horace*, edited by C. D. N. Costa (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), pp. 135–60 (p. 150).
 26. Alastair Bellamy, '"Raylinge Rymes and Vaunting Verse": Libellous Politics in Early Stuart England, 1603–1628', in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, edited by Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), pp. 285–310 (pp. 285–6).

27. For Benson's various activities, see F. E. Halliday, *A Shakespeare Companion 1564–1964* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964), p. 60; Henry Robert Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London: The Bibliographical Society / Blades, East & Blades, 1907), p. 22; and Faith Acker, "New-found methods and ... compounds strange": Reading the 1640 *Poems: Written by Wil. Shake-speare. Gent.*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2012, pp. 12–22.
28. Hyder E. Rollins's assessment of Benson's piracy is now outdated. See William Shakespeare, *The Sonnets: A New Variorum Edition*, edited by Hyder E. Rollins (London: J. B. Lippincott, 1944), Vol. 1, p. 54, and Josephine Waters Bennett, 'Benson's Alleged Piracy of Shake-speare's Sonnets and of some of Jonson's Works', *Studies in Bibliography*, 21 (1968), 235–48.
29. The term is used by Colin Burrow, in 'Life and Work in Shakespeare's Poems', in *Shakespeare, The Critical Complex: Shakespeare's Poems*, edited by Stephen Orgel and Sean Keilen (New York: Garland, 1999), pp. 1–14 (p. 4). Cathy Shrank, after Margreta de Grazia, has recently argued, however, that Benson's miscellany has been unfairly treated by the critical tradition. Cathy Shrank, 'Reading Shakespeare's Sonnets: John Benson and the 1640 *Poems*', *Shakespeare*, 5.3 (2009), 271–91. See also Margreta de Grazia, 'The Scandal of Shakespeare's Sonnets', in *Shakespeare's Poems*, edited by Orgel and Keilen, pp. 65–88.
30. On the shift from Benson's 1640 *Poems* to Malone's 1790 *Sonnets*, see Margreta de Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim: The Reproduction of Authenticity and the 1790 Apparatus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 152–76.
31. Shrank, 'Reading Shakespeare's Sonnets', p. 277. See also Sasha Roberts, *Reading Shakespeare's Poems in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 158.
32. This is the beginning of what Jerome de Groot (among others) calls the royalist 'rush to print' and attributes mainly to Humphrey Moseley, who is discussed at length by Warren Boutcher in this volume. Jerome de Groot, *Royalist Identities* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 67. See also Line Cottegnies, *L'Eclipse du regard. La poésie anglaise du baroque au classicisme* (Geneva: Droz, 1997), pp. 224–7.
33. *Poems By Thomas Carew Esquire. One of the Gentlemen of the Privie-Chamber, and Sewer in Ordinary to his Majesty* (London: I. D. for Thomas Walkey, 1640); *Poems: by Francis Beaumont, Gent.* (London: Printed by Richard Hodgkinson for W. W[ethred], 1640); Thomas Randolph, *Poems with the Muses looking-glasse* (Oxford: L. Lichfield for Francis Bowman, 1640).
34. As Helen Pierce remarks, 'it is difficult to assign particular political sympathies to Marshall on the basis of his output', although he worked for sev-

- eral prominent royalist patrons. 'Text and Image: William Marshall's Frontispiece to the *Eikon Basilike* (1649)', in *Censorship Moments: Reading Texts in the History of Censorship and Freedom of Expression*, edited by Geoff Kemp (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014), pp. 79–86 (p. 84). See also Iamartino and Manzi in this volume for Marshall's frontispiece to *Romulus and Tarquin*.
35. David Barker, 'Cavalier Shakespeare: The 1640 *Poems* of John Benson', *Studies in Philology*, 95.2 (1998), 152–73.
 36. Barker, 'Cavalier Shakespeare', pp. 153, 154.
 37. Robert Greene, *A Groats-worth of Wit* (London: Printed for William Wright, 1592), sig. F1.
 38. *Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (London: Isaac Jaggard and Edward Blount, 1623), fol. A3. For the myth of Shakespeare as the natural genius, see Grace Ioppolo, 'The Idea of Shakespeare and the Two *Lears*', in *Lear from Study to Stage: Essays in Criticism*, edited by James Ogden and Arthur H. Scouten (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1997), pp. 45–56 (p. 48). Jonson notoriously added: 'My answer hath beene, Would he had blotted a thousand' (*Ben Jonson*, Vol. 8, p. 583).
 39. 'Upon Master William Shakespeare, the Deceased Authour, and his Poems', sig. *3.
 40. Acker, "'New-found methods'", p. 12. Acker further argues that Benson thereby plays his 'awareness of current tastes and early marketing methods' (p. 7). See also Michael Schoenfeldt, *The Cambridge Introduction to Shakespeare's Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 134. For a presentation of Benson's Shakespeare's collection as more indebted to Donne than Jonson, see Megan Heffenan, 'Turning Sonnets into Poems: Textual Affect and John Benson's Metaphysical Shakespeare', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 64.1 (2013), 71–98.
 41. See David Gants, 'The 1616 Folio (F1): Textual Essay', in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, http://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/k/essays/F1_textual_essay/9/, accessed 2 August 2017.
 42. Arthur M. Hind, *Engraving in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Descriptive Catalogue with Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952–64), Vol. 3, no. 119, p. 169.
 43. *The Works of Sir John Suckling*, edited by Thomas Clayton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), Vol. 1, p. 72. For the commentary, see pp. 266–78.
 44. *Q. Horatius Flaccus: His Arte of Poetry. Englished by Ben: Jonson. With other Workes of the Author, never Printed before* (London: Printed by J[ames] O[kes] for John Benson [and Andrew Crooke], 1640), sig. [A8]^{r-v}.

45. 'The Greek and Roman denison'd by thee, / And both made richer in thy Poetry', sig. [A10].
46. Sig. A8^v. See Belle, 'Autour de la question des "communautés de lecteurs"', pp. 379–80.
47. For the status of marginal annotations in Jonson, see for instance E. Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), pp. 130–57, and Joseph Loewenstein, *Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 180ff.
48. Hooley, "'But Above All He Excelleth in a Translation'", p. 157.
49. Hooley, "'But Above All He Excelleth in a Translation'", *passim*.
50. Joanna Martindale, 'The Best Master of Virtue and Wisdom', p. 54. See also Belle, 'Autour de la question des "communautés de lecteurs"' and '(Auto-)portraits de l'auteur en traducteur'.



Translation and the English Book Trade c.1640–1660: The Cases of Humphrey Moseley and William London

Warren Boutcher

In the prefatory epistle to the reader in his *Catalogue of the most vendible books in England* (1657–60), which lists the books on sale in the late 1650s in the best English bookshops, William London borrows two anecdotes. The first is taken from Humphrey Moseley's 1655 edition of Thomas Stanley's *History of philosophy in eight parts*. This work was itself an adapted translation of Diogenes Laertius, with translations and borrowings from other texts—including more recent, Neo-Latin texts—inserted. Using Stanley's words, London equates Plato's reputation as a wise man with the report that 'he accounted it a rich purchase when he bought three Books of Philosophy belonging to Philolaus a Pythagorean in Sicily, though at an incredible rate'.¹ The context in Stanley is the debate about where Plato borrowed his philosophy and his writings from, and in the case of the Pythagorean books, exactly how much they cost and how they were purchased.

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London's second anecdote comes from Edward Leigh's dedication to Archbishop James Ussher of his 1663 *Felix consortium*. It was Ussher who sent to 'Samaria for sundry copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and with a dear purchase it was also that he brought the Syriack Bible, with other Books from Syria'.² Together, the two anecdotes identify wisdom, learning, and letters, humane and divine, with the purchase and importation of foreign books. London's primary motive in selecting them is to persuade his customers, the gentry and clergy of the northern counties, that purchasing 'foreign' learning and knowledge in the form of books is a good investment. But he is not offering exotic and prestigious foreign scrolls and manuscripts of the kind acquired by Plato and Ussher; he is offering translated learning and knowledge mostly in the form of vernacular books.

London's own prefatory texts about the value and benefits of learning and knowledge lean equally on 'original' English writings such as Francis Bacon's *The advancement of learning* and Thomas Stanley's *History of philosophy* that transfer the encyclopaedia of learning from various sources into the vernacular, and on regular translations such as Montaigne's *Essayes* (trans. John Florio, last published 1632) and La Primaudaye's *French academie* (trans. Thomas Bowes, Richard Dolman, and W. P., last published 1618). Some of the books he uses, including Strada's history of the siege of Antwerp, were published by the leading literary publisher of contemporary London, Humphrey Moseley. In general terms, William London is drawing on a commonplace of the era, phrased by Giordano Bruno via John Florio as the notion that 'from translation all Science had it's [sic] of-spring': humane and divine learning have both migrated from one civilisation to another through history.³ Indeed, the early modern practice of letters and learning was understood to involve translation and transfer at all levels, although modern literary historiography has not adequately recognised and explored that understanding.

This chapter constitutes a step towards compensating for this inadequacy by discussing the communications circuit of the vernacular English book trade between c.1640 and c.1660, as illustrated by the books produced and marketed by two booksellers. Thus it focuses on a dimension that has suffered neglect both over the long term in national literary histories and more recently in work on this particular trade: the place of imported books, continental authors, translation and translators. The research was undertaken in response to two aspects of Marie-Alice Belle's and Brenda Hosington's current project, 'Translation and the Making of

Early Modern Print Culture, 1473–1660': the *Cultural Crosscurrents Catalogue of Translations in Stuart and Commonwealth Britain*, an online database that will extend the existing *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Online Catalogue of Translations in Britain* beyond 1640 up to 1660, and the development of a new model of the communications circuit adapted to the case of printed translations and transnational print networks. Previous models had either ignored book imports and translations altogether; or absorbed the latter within the life cycle of 'original' works, as 'reception'; or at best simply inserted the roles 'mediator' and 'translator' in the existing model of the circuit. Belle and Hosington's model, by contrast, incorporates the circuits of both the original and the translated books, with translators and other mediators occupying the central space defined by the overlap between the two.⁴

We shall be concerned with two catalogues of books of very different kinds and functions. The first is a shorter list of titles produced and sold by one publisher. It has no extended paratexts of its own, beyond a simple address to the 'Courteous Reader' and some subheadings. It was normally added to the back of editions produced by the publisher, and thus became a paratext itself during sale and binding. The second comprises a much longer catalogue of books on sale across the country, especially the northern counties. It contains two prefatory paratexts by the bookseller who produced it: a dedicatory epistle and an epistle 'to the most candid and ingenious reader'. Together, the two catalogues offer a snapshot of the place of translations in the book trade connecting London and the regions in the 1640s and 1650s—a snapshot with, of course, a particular focus derived from the intersecting spheres of these two booksellers. The shorter catalogue was issued by the well-known and prestigious London stationer (active c.1645–60) Humphrey Moseley, and contained 363 items he had published or was intending to publish through his shop in St Paul's Churchyard. Just over one third of these were translations.⁵ Moseley also authored and printed a number of his own paratexts addressed from the 'stationer' to the reader that he included in various publications.

The longer catalogue was issued by the much more obscure Newcastle bookseller William London (fl. 1649–60), and comprised a bibliography (1657, with supplements 1658 and 1660), not of books printed for him (though a very small number of those included were), but of the books (c.3794) he considered 'vendible' across the country at that moment.⁶ These included many of Moseley's translations and a good proportion of his overall list, as well as many other translations from other publishers—

enabling us to consider how a particular bookseller in the provinces mediated knowledge about books, especially translated ones, coming from London. A large proportion of the books advertised were originally published between 1640 and 1660, though some had appeared at an earlier date.

The period 1640–60 was of course a very particular one within the longer early modern history of translation and the book trade. It was a time of crisis and exceptional political ferment, as the Civil War gave way to the Interregnum. The whole literary field was transformed, as new voices, both conformist and nonconformist, and new genres used the vernacular written and printed word as never before. Cultural relations between England and France, and between England and the United Provinces, intensified in a specific way, as royalist English exiles took up residence and gravitated to the Stuart courts on the continent. The book trade itself changed and innovated quite radically during these twenty years. One of those changes, which had been underway since about 1600, was the consolidation of a national distribution network linking publishers in London with booksellers in the provinces.⁷ There is no evidence or probability that Moseley and London were in direct contact. They occupied different points in the overall communications circuit: a highly successful stationer in London whose books were distributed all over the country and a bookseller in Newcastle with connections in London. They make an interesting pair because their religious and political affiliations were so different.

One thing the two catalogues share is their focus on what is perhaps the single most important type of paratext for the seller and buyer of books: the title as listed on the title-page, which gives key information to a potential buyer (whether wholesale or retail). The focus here will be on the histories of the translations as they are advertised in the wording of the titles and other paratexts—both as they appear in the books themselves and as transcribed in booksellers' catalogues.⁸ How visible was information about the 'original' book that served as source text, and about its authors, publishers, and readers? How visible was information about the agents involved in the production and consumption of each translation, and what was the advertised hierarchy of relations amongst them? How and to whom was this information directed in marketing the translation? Was the translation intended for a market of consumers who also purchased and read imported continental books, or not? Were translations intended to be instrumental in leading or defining new genres for particular readerships? How did the visibility of translation

and translators vary between Bruno's humane and divine learning, and across the various genres and categories used by booksellers at the time? Did imaginative works of fiction necessarily lead the way to developing an English body of literature less visibly dependent on foreign, imported, and translated material?

In relation to this last question, the present chapter proposes a hypothesis for further research concerning the English vernacular book trade as it stood c.1660: there was significant variation between the subject categories with respect to the degree to which translation and the importation of foreign learning and authors were visible and marketable factors in the trade. More particularly, there appears to have been a clear difference between publications in divinity and law, and publications in other subject areas such as history, humane learning (including imaginative literature), physic and surgery, at least with respect to translation. In a nutshell, one could say that the former were presented as English but the latter as Englished. That is to say, vernacular divinity was less visibly dependent than vernacular humanity on translation and imported books—at least if one excludes, as both our booksellers did (lacking a privilege to sell them), the many editions of the Authorised English Bible and the Sternhold and Hopkins' Psalms, which did continue to advertise themselves as translated books that had been compared with the original texts and other translations.⁹ In humanity, only one sub-genre, as advertised in booklists and on title-pages, bucked this trend: plays. The imported copy, the translation, the publisher as intercultural mediator, and the translator-as-author were more visibly integral to the publication and selling of works of history, humane learning, poetry, and romance than they were to vernacular religious publishing at this point in the history of the relationship between the book trade and translation. This is despite the fact that a canon of English writers in humanity and literature was emerging in shops such as Moseley's.

HUMPHREY MOSELEY AND WILLIAM LONDON: BOOKLISTS AND CATALOGUES

Between 1645 and 1660 Humphrey Moseley became the most prestigious literary publisher and bookseller of the time (he was not a printer).¹⁰ He is known to modern book historians as the 'inventor' of English literature as he published Crashaw, Shirley, Suckling, Beaumont and Fletcher, Cowley, Davenant, Denham, Carew, Cartwright, Stanley, Vaughan, Brome, Middleton,

and Massinger.¹¹ He is also known for establishing the single-author edition of lyric poetry and the serial publication of octavo play collections, and for being one of the first booksellers systematically to use booklists.¹² He published almost exclusively in the vernacular, two rare exceptions being Milton's 1645 *Poemata* and Hugh Robinson's 1658 *Scholæ Wintoniensis phrases Latinae*. In 1659, just before his death, his name begins to appear in the register of the Stationers' Company no longer as a petitioner for licences but as a warden granting them.¹³ Many of his publications had clearly royalist associations, with an eye on the aristocratic exiles across the Channel, though he was no propagandist, and he also published authors with commonwealth and puritan leanings such as Milton. In Peter Lindenbaum's terms, his bookshop was the focus of a community bringing together publisher, authors, and readers with a moderate royalist ethos.¹⁴ But this ethos accommodated literature, authors, and readers of a non-royalist persuasion.

William London is known to have flourished 1649–60 in Newcastle as a bookseller with a shop on the Tyne bridge, though he also financed or authored about seven volumes in the area of divinity, religious history, and controversy. Several of these were listed together in his catalogue with full transcriptions of their title-pages under 'Newcastle ministers'.¹⁵ One of them, about the civil wars in France, identified him as 'A true Protestant, and friend to the Common-wealth of England'.¹⁶ András Kiséry has argued that his connections in Newcastle and the capital place him in a network of Presbyterian booksellers, authors, and readers.¹⁷ But he stocked or at least advertised a range of books well beyond religiously correct, Presbyterian literature. Indeed, in the epistle to the reader in his catalogue he describes how he refused to stop or block the current of general knowledge of books by leaving out all those accounted heterodox in his milieu.¹⁸ His catalogue was in this respect a response to the much narrower and censorious agenda of other Presbyterian booksellers, and to the Calvinist bookseller John Rothwell's *A catalogue of approved divinity-books* (1657) in particular. The latter refused even to name what he considered to be heterodox divinity books, such as those by the Arminian John Goodwin.¹⁹

As for imported books, we currently have only piecemeal information about this whole aspect of the communications circuit, and are not able to document precisely what involvement London and Moseley had. Did clients find a stock of imported books in most English booksellers? Did they order them from those booksellers, who would then obtain them through business connections in the continental trade? Or did they mostly send out

for them through personal networks, like Plato and Ussher? London's catalogues include a few Latin and foreign vernacular books that could only have been obtained from the continent (they were not printed in London), but they clearly constituted a specialised subdivision of the essentially English and vernacular trade he was representing.²⁰ Moseley is likely to have had greater involvement as a bookseller in the Latin and continental vernacular trades. We shall see that when he communicated with his customers via paratexts he expected them to be aware of authors who were selling well on the continent, especially in France.

As I have already mentioned, the lists issued by these publishers around the same time are very different in kind, with differing relationships to our theme of paratexts. It is probable that Moseley's catalogue was available as a separate work.²¹ However, it survives now and was encountered then primarily as a paratext, bound in at the back of volumes he published. It comprised a catalogue of books printed for him and on sale in his shop at the sign of the Prince's Arms in St Paul's Churchyard. It was a cumulative catalogue, republished many times as it grew. It increased from 59 items in 1650 to 75 in the same year (1650), 180 in 1654, 246 items in 1656, and finally 363 items in the fullest 1660 list, with which we are primarily concerned, and which included items he intended to publish in the future.²²

William London's catalogue was also a separate publication. However, it was not designed to be bound in at the back of other books and it gives a more comprehensive picture—from the viewpoint of the puritan-minded of the northern regions—of the English book trade as a whole. On the one hand it shows that Moseley's publications enjoyed a national distribution; on the other hand it inverts the balance of Moseley's offerings. Moseley's list offers small numbers of sermons and tracts in divinity and focuses heavily on humanity and polite letters, including romances and poetry. William London's catalogue, by contrast, is dominated by divinity and puts imaginative literature (romances, poems, plays) in a small section at the back; it reflects the bias of provincial bookselling towards the religious and educational markets, and the desire of godly readers and writers to cordon off and control the vicious effects of fictional writing. It was published as a book in London and probably sold there from the start by puritan booksellers Francis Tyton and Luke Fawne; it contained a long and very interesting paratext written by William himself about the uses of books and learning.²³

London's catalogue is a list not of works printed for him, but of 'vendible' books. 'Vendible' was a concept used by publishers in the scholarly

Latin trade ('vendibiles') to distinguish stock they were confident of selling from those 'minus vendibiles' that they might have to write off.²⁴ The first, 1657 edition of the catalogue had 3284 items, while those in 1658 and 1660 added 510 new ones. Book historians disagree as to whether it represented a stocklist or an attempt to give an overview of the current state of the entire English book market for an audience who, not able to personally browse the stalls at St Paul's, might decide what to order through provincial booksellers such as William London. It was probably the latter, as no other provincial bookseller had anything like this amount of stock.²⁵ Either way, what London is saying is that these are not remainders and leftovers that nobody wants, but marketable and desirable items, easy to obtain from most good booksellers across the country. As he says in relation to the few Latin books interspersed throughout: they are the works which to his knowledge are 'usually sold in most places of repute in the Country'.²⁶

BOOKS AND TRANSLATIONS PRINTED FOR HUMPHREY MOSELEY

The full list of headings used in Moseley's 1660 booklist is as follows: ²⁷

Courteous Reader, these Books following are printed for Humphrey Moseley, at the Princes Armes in St. Pauls Church-Yard.

Various Histories, with curious Discourses in Humane Learning, &c.

Books in Humanity lately Printed.

Severall Sermons, with other excellent Tracts in Divinity, written by some most eminent and learned Bishops, and Orthodox Divines.

Books in Divinity Lately Printed.

Choyce Poems with excellent Translations, by the most eminent wits of this age.

Poems lately Printed.

Incomparable Comedies and Tragedies written by several Ingenious Authors.

Playes lateley Printed.

New and Excellent Romances.

Bookes lately printed for Humphrey Moseley.

Bookes newly Printed for Humphrey Moseley.

New Additions to the Catalogue [sic] of Books Printed for Humphrey Moseley at the Princes Armes in St. Paul's Church-yard.

Various Historys, with Curious Discourses in Humane Learning, &c.

Sermons with some Tracts in Divinity.
Choice Poems and Translations.
 Comedies and Tragedies.
 New and Excellent Romances la[t]ely Printed.
 Books lately Printed.²⁸
 Books now in the Presse, and to be Printed.
 These Books I purpose to Print, Deo Volente.

David Masson's famous *Life of Milton* stated that there were no sermons or tracts in Moseley's shop, just the finest literature.²⁹ This list shows that he was wrong, but the more interesting point for us is that the items on offer as sermons and tracts in divinity are mostly authored by English divines and lay religious writers, with only very few translations of foreign authors. In contrast, on the first page, which offers 'Various Histories', translations and information about translators are much more prominent in the transcribed titles. Seven of the nine items listed inform the customer that they are translations of foreign language works. The two subsections of 'New and Excellent Romances' consist almost entirely (just one exception in thirty-eight items) of translated works. These are mostly from French, with a couple from Spanish and Italian. It is interesting that in the case of these titles the translator is quite often less prominent, represented by initials, or left out altogether.

The category which most catches the eye in this respect is 'Choyce Poems with excellent Translations', or 'Choice Poems and Translations'. This completely integrates, across and within editions, what would now be separated out as original English poetry and translated poetry. So, on the one hand, volumes of poetry by Donne, Waller, Denham, Milton, Shirley, Cowley, Quarles, Shakespeare, and so on, are intermingled with Stapylton's translations of Juvenal and Musaeus, Fanshaw's Guarini, Sherburn's Seneca, Hills's translation of Sarbiewski's Neo-Latin poetry. As an example of a single edition, on the other hand, take Stanley's *Poems* as they appeared in Moseley's edition of 1652: just over a third of the text comprises translations from Italian, Latin, Spanish, and French. This begins to suggest that Moseley was part of the environment that made translation an integral part of the practice and persona of the vernacular poet—and also, perhaps, the historian or philosopher—in this period.³⁰

There is evidence to support this suggestion in the paratexts to some of Moseley's publications. His editions of Cartwright's poems were a touch-

stone for royalist sentiment both at home and among exiles abroad. Other scholars have quoted the early lines of J. Leigh's poem for the 1651 edition as it lists, from a royalist perspective, the English poets whose wit Moseley has brought to light: Suckling, Carew, Beaumont and Fletcher, Denham, Newcastle, Davenant.³¹ But the section they do not quote continues seamlessly to include translators of wit:

Brave STAPYLTON translates old Wit and new,
Musæus, Juvenal, and Strada too:
Then Pastor Fido (cloath'd by FANSHAW'S Pen)
Confess'd 'twas never nobly dress'd till then:
So did Aurora and Oronta too,
Whom hopefull STANLEY into English drew:
And SHERBURN made old Seneca tell why
Knaves oft triumph while Good men smart and dye:
...

It then continues, again seamlessly, to list two now considered original English poets, Heath and Crashaw.³² Note Leigh's expectation that these translated works would contribute in the same way to royalist sentiment as Suckling's poetry: Seneca can console the defeated cavaliers.

Leigh's investiture of translators as wits and poets corresponds to the presentation of Moseley's volumes. The 1650 edition of Stapylton's translation of Strada's *History of the Low-Country warres*, for example, includes an engraving (by Marshall) of Stapylton opposite the title page, with a Latin inscription underneath: 'Robertus Stapyltonus eques Auratus, Juvenalem, Musæum, Stradam, è peregrinis Anglos suosque plusquam interpretes reddidit' ('Robert Stapylton, knight bachelor and translator, made Juvenal, Musæus, and Strada appear Englishmen rather than foreigners'). In the case of the paratexts to this edition, the original Latin title and original author's name are given prominence along with the name and persona of the translator. The wholesale or retail purchaser is getting a nobly Englished version of a famous continental text.³³

However, the status and role of the translator and of the original text's circuit of production in Moseley's publications varied according to genre and circumstance. At the other end of the scale from Stapylton's literary translations is the case of Robert Sanderson's *De juramento. Seven lectures concerning the obligation of promissory oaths* (1655), listed in London's catalogue. These were composed and delivered in Latin, but the title-page

tells us they were ‘Translated into English by His late Majesties special command, and afterwards revised and approved under His Majesties own hand’.³⁴ In this case the patron, Charles I, is the prime mover of the text, and the translator (whom some modern scholars state was Charles himself) is not even named; Moseley himself is in the background as one of three granted the privilege to publish the work (the others were Octavian Pulleyn and Andrew Crook).

In the case of romances, Moseley sometimes did not name his translators, beyond describing them as a ‘person of quality’. As Brenda Hosington has noted, Robert Gentili translated many works for him, but did not receive the kind of elevated billing granted to Stapylton.³⁵ One of Moseley’s earliest publications was taken over from another publisher—Gentili’s translation from the Spanish of Carlos García of a treatise on the antipathy of the Frenchman and the Spaniard. However, Moseley’s imperfect title-page, transcribed in part by London in his catalogue under ‘History’, presents it simply as a treatise by ‘R.G’.³⁶ On the title-pages of some of his editions Moseley indicates that, for example, the text has been ‘translated ... at the request of severall Persons of Honour’. In one, taken from *The manner of ordering fruit-trees* (1660), translated from Arnauld d’Andilly by John Evelyn, we are also told it is a ‘piece so highly approved of in France, that it hath been divers times printed there’. Moseley is catering for a clientele that knows or wishes to know which books and authors are most often printed on the continent, especially in France, and to have Englished versions of them. He was building not only a ‘canon’ of English but of continental wits, including the likes of Scudéry and Malvezzi, and of honourable English translators of those wits.

A still better example is Cardinal Bentivoglio and his works on the United Provinces. Moseley describes his *Compleat history of the wars of Flanders* as a book that ‘hath been often call’d for’. Those who read and travel ‘know what value is paid to BENTIVOGLIO’; France and Spain ‘by worthy Translations have made it their own’; no wonder ‘it hath been so oft Re-printed in French, but that it came no sooner into English’. Bentivoglio’s *Historicall relations of the United Provinces*, likewise, ‘hath been Translated and often Printed in most Languages of Europe’.³⁷ The English market for translations, then, is shaped by news of the value paid to particular authors and works on the continent, in terms of the number of original-language and translated editions issued there; though, as we shall see, on some occasions Moseley was ahead of the continental market in identifying and translating the works of a particular author. Italy, Spain,

and the Low Countries figure prominently in the cultural geography of this market, but its centre from Moseley's and his customers' point of view is France.

Nevertheless, as indicated above, the fame of these continental authors could be eclipsed in some of Moseley's publications by that of the translator. One name that figures large in Moseley's catalogue but is not mentioned in Leigh's poem is Henry Carey Earl of Monmouth. Boccalini is heralded on the title-page of *I ragguagli di Parnasso: or Advertisements from Parnassus in two centuries. With the politick touch-stone* (1656) as a famous Roman. A customer is assumed who would know or want to know the Italian title of a work ('I ragguagli di Parnasso') that was called for throughout Europe. But the typography and the engraving opposite suggest he is not as famous as the translator 'HENRY Earl of MONMOUTH'. A number of Monmouth's historical, political, and moral translations were published by Moseley with similar billings for the translator or similar engravings opposite or on the verso of the title-page, as Giovanni Iamartino and Alessandra Manzi demonstrate in their discussion in this volume of Carey's translation of Malvezzi. We shall see below that this had an impact on the books' further dissemination in the regions.

LONDON'S *CATALOGUE OF THE MOST VENDIBLE BOOKS* IN *ENGLAND*

If we compare the first pages of William London's catalogue with that of Moseley's booklist, we are in a very different world, the world of English religious publishing, with little mention of translation and translators. As we turn the pages some important exceptions do emerge. There are a few works of theology in Latin, and some translations of the Church Fathers. The Jesuit Jean-François Senault's religious works, as dedicated to Richelieu and others, were clearly on request to be translated in the late 1640s and 1650s, and are present in some numbers.³⁸ James Howell's translation of Ferrante Pallavicino's anti-Roman *Divortio celeste* (1644) stands out as 'rendered into english from *Itallian*', though it is listed under St Paul, as neither the original author's nor the translator's name appeared on the title-page. The Englished works of Calvin and of the French Jesuit Caussin are advertised on one page of the catalogue, indicating the confessional range of London's offerings.³⁹ Jean d'Espagne, the minister of the French church in London, is listed; his works were

printed in London in French and English. Theodor Haak's Dutch annotations upon the Bible, according to the translation approved by the Synod of Dort, are communicated to the use of Great Britain as is Anna Maria Schurman's treatise, *The learned maid, or whether a maid may be a scholar*.⁴⁰ But this small number of Englished foreign writers and texts is overwhelmed by the deluge of 'native' vernacular religious literature and its authors, the English divines and lay religious writers who produced it. Continental authorities and acts of translation are not as visible and prominent in this category—which is not of course to say that these works do not result from or include acts of translation on other levels.

The first edition of London's catalogue listed 3284 items, of which 1698 or 52 per cent are divinity books. One piece of evidence for the argument that London actually stocked all these books is that the entries very closely follow—often at length—the wording on the title-pages. So he must have had the books in front of him or agents who sent him precise transcriptions. London feels he has to justify not providing a short-title catalogue and swelling the boundary of his volume to drown the reader in lengthy titles. He says he did this so that the reader can have the shop in their studies and open the books to see the titles in turn: you 'have all books brought to you lying open'.⁴¹

At the same time he reveals he has shortened the titles of the romances and poems because they are less 'useful' and already in enough demand, providing incentives to vice.⁴² This, then, is a concrete example of the manner in which a provincial, Presbyterian bookseller providing gentry and clergy with edifying and educational material might mediate knowledge of translated books coming from London. Although the three pages of listings comprising 'Romances, Poems and Playes' (with minimal additions in the 1658 and 1660 supplements) contain many of Moseley's publications, there are very few authors and even fewer translators mentioned in the drastically shortened titles. The only exception to this trend is a non-Moseley publication, 'Horace, de arte poetica, Englished by Ben Jonson', discussed by Line Cottage in this volume.⁴³ Did London feel that Jonson's translated and native Horatian verse was the one book of poetry that deserved to be brought lying open to the reader, its title and provenance fully discovered? And was this because it alone did not comprise an *incentiva vitiorum* but a *flagellum vitiorum*?

When it came to other categories of books, however, London did advertise translators and translation in his transcriptions of title-pages. This is especially clear in his category of 'History with other pieces of

humane learning intermixed', where we gather item after item to have been translated or Englished by named individuals from Italian, Latin, or French, or from intermediary translations in one of those languages. So the 'Alcharon of Mahomet'—categorised as humane learning—reveals its provenance in a translation from Arabic into French by a resident ambassador of the King of France, which was in turn Englished. Further along, an Englished Cicero is advertised as having been 'conferred with the French, Italian, and other translations'.⁴⁴

This is in line with a comment London makes in his dedicatory epistle. In defending the value of book purchases to the gentry, the first specific category he mentions occurs when he refers to the dire consequences of neglecting 'the Advantages of Translations of History, &c. from the Latin, Italian, French &c'.⁴⁵ History and humane learning, then, like 'Poetry' in Moseley's list, is a bookseller's category which at this moment is marketed in terms of the translations and translators it offers, and of its mirroring of the continental trade in Latin, Italian, and French books. Furthermore, given that the catalogue entries are listed by author, London makes interesting decisions as to whose name—the original author's or the translator's—he should use for marketing translated publications. Thomas Hobbes's translation of Thucydides's *Eight bookes of the Peloponnesian warre* is listed under Hobbes's name, along with his works of political philosophy. The unauthorised translation of the *Pharmacopœia Londinensis* is listed under the name of Nicholas Culpeper, but so, too, are works by other physicians such as Partilicius, Galen, Glisson, Bate, Regemorter, and Prevotius.⁴⁶

In other cases, a translator's oeuvre was split in the catalogue. Monmouth's two translations of Bentivoglio for Moseley are listed under 'Card. Bentivoglio', clearly a continental author with name recognition. Monmouth's translation of Galliazo is likewise listed under the original author's name, although his translations of Paruta, Boccalini, and Biondi are listed under 'H. Earl of Monmouth'—just above, as it happens, Montaigne 'translated from the French' (without the translator's name).⁴⁷ His translation of Paruta's history of Venice is listed twice on the same page of the 1660 supplement: once under 'H' as 'The history of Venice, written in Italian by Paulo Peruta, translated ... by Monmouth' and once as 'Monmouths History of Venice'.⁴⁸ Here the impact of Moseley's and other London publishers' marketing of translators and translations as authors and works that mirror and even exceed the original continental ones has had a direct impact on the marketing of works via a provincial

bookseller. Again, this kind of marketing is most apparent in the categories of history and humane learning, poetry, physic, and surgery.

London's transcribed titles and the books from which they are taken in fact tell a whole variety of stories about the collecting and translating of foreign learning in English texts. The title-page to *The whole art of drawing* (1660) tells us that it was collected out of the choicest Italian and German authors, with the addition of rules for drawing, the latter having been 'originally invented and written by the famous Italian Painter Odouardo Fialetti'.⁴⁹ But it also tells us that it was 'published' by Alexander Brown 'Practitioner', though not in the sense that it was printed for him to sell in his shop (it was printed for Peter Stint and Simon Miller). The dedicatory epistle by Brown to William Paston specifies that the treatise fell into his hands after having already been translated at the charge of a 'Person of Honour' and 'preserv'd as a Jewel', bound together with the original prints and Italian comment (which must refer to Fialetti's original Italian treatise) for private use.⁵⁰

So here we have a series of overlapping circuits of communication mirroring and feeding into one another: the texts of the original Italian and German authors, and in particular Fialetti's treatise published in Venice; the privately commissioned manuscript translation bound for a patron with the imported copy of Fialetti; the printed edition of the manuscript 'published' by a practitioner (Brown) and dedicated to another patron. However, in this case the translator's name and status are not even mentioned and the printer's and publisher's roles are played down—the important intermediaries between the circuit of the original text and of the translated text are the patron and the disseminator of the translation.

In the case of translated medical books, the visibility of information about the circuit of production of the original text and intermediary translations could be even greater. One work listed by London is marketed on its title-page as *both* a treatise on the practice of physic in the English vernacular by Culpeper, Cole, and Rowland, English physicians, *and* as (chiefly) a translation of the works of Lazarus Riverius, a learned and renowned doctor, 'now living' as a councillor and physician to the present King of France. Not only that, but the title-page gives precise information about the transmission and dissemination of the work through the Latin trade, information that London carefully transcribes: 'Above fifteen thousand of the said Books in Latin have been Sold in a very few Yeers, having been eight times printed, though all the former Impressions wanted the Nature, Causes, Signs, and Differences of the Diseases, and had only

the Medicines for the Cure of them.⁵¹ So the book is marketed for English physicians who were immersed in the Latin trade and who needed to be told why it was worth getting the English edition of a bestselling work they might have already acquired or seen in Latin.

Still more remarkable is the case of *An experimental treatise of chirurgie* (1656). This trades on a whole tradition of transmission and translation of texts by a ‘most famous and renowned surgeon’ of the sixteenth century, Felix Würtz of Basel. The title-page tells us his treatise on surgery was ‘exactly perused by Rodolph Würtz’, another surgeon, ‘after the authors own manuscript’. It was then ‘faithfully translated into “Neather Dutch” out of the twenty eighth Copy printed in the German tongue’ and is ‘now also Englished and much corrected, by Abraham Lenertzson Fox’, yet another surgeon. The edition also includes another work by Würtz, on children. It translates two paratexts by the intermediary translator from German to Dutch (Lenertzson Fox). An epistle reveals that the ‘main cause’—author or commissioner?—of the translation was one William Johnson, who cannot conceive that the Germans would have printed Würtz twenty-eight times in his own tongue (German), and twice in the ‘Belgick’, if his method had been vulgar and common.⁵² In this case, the faithful Dutching of the German copy is just as significant as the Englishing and correcting of the Dutch copy, and the circuit of the original publication in German is very prominent in the paratexts.

DESCARTES AND SCUDÉRY: TWO CASE STUDIES

In the rest of this chapter I want to consider, in slightly more detail, two examples of translations produced by Humphrey Moseley and listed by William London in order to engage more explicitly with Belle and Hosington’s question as to how we fit translators and translations into models of the book trade circuit. Their general answer is surely right: that the production and dissemination of the translation must be conceived as an overlapping structure that mirrors and sometimes actually merges with the circuit of the original—as is already suggested by some of the examples we have considered in brief above. My purpose in selecting the final two examples is two-fold: to continue to develop a sense of the *variety* of stories that the paratextual apparatus of translations can tell about the overlapping circuits of production and dissemination of original and translated texts; and to suggest in both cases how the production of a translation in a particular genre interacts with or stimulates native English responses in the same genre.

The first is Moseley's edition of an English version by Dr Walter Charleton (according to the Stationers' Register) of Descartes's work of theoretical musicology, listed in London's catalogue under his general category of mathematics and the liberal and mechanical arts: *Compendium musicae*, published in Utrecht in 1650 and in London in 1653.⁵³ It was accompanied by seventy-eight new notes on the text, or *Animadversions* written by Lord Brouncker (attributed on Moseley's title-page to a 'Person of honour'), who would later become the first president of the Royal Society and participate in its early discussions of musical subjects.⁵⁴ Moseley addresses a reader who has just read the title of his new book and knows the famous name of Descartes:

No sooner can your Eye have taken in the Title of this thin Volume, which I have, in some latitude of Assistance, Midwiv'd into this our English World; but you shall most willingly confesse it to be as well a sufficient Justification to my Industry and Cost, as a full Elogie to itselfe: The AUTHOR thereof, being one of the fairest Flowers in that Garland of the Mathematicks ...

[T]he many and grosse Defects observed in the Latine Impression, especially in the Figures, and Diagramms, wherein the Evidence of each respective Demonstration ought to have consisted; was a principal Occasion to this my English one: which I may justly affirme to be so Accurate [...] that the Excellent Des-cartes, had He lived to see it, would have acknowledged the Translator for a greater Friend to his Honour, then that rawe Disciple of his, who [...] unfaithfully transcribed the Original, and divulged his owne faulty Copy; [...] [T]he Authour of the concise, but weighty ANIMADVERSIONS subsequent [...] most happily lighted on the Discovery of a New Hypothesis [...].⁵⁵

This is a case, then, where the production of a translation claims to supersede the production of the original in two respects. Firstly, the translator and other producers of the English edition have published a more correct text, with better illustrations than in the original. What this amounts to in practice is the fact that numerical interpretations, in the form of columns, have been added to some of the figures, and that one or two other errors in the calculations have been picked up.⁵⁶ Secondly, the translated text is combined with 'original' animadversions upon that text, by an Englishman, which apply and extend its theoretical concepts in novel ways. In this case it is the purported corrections of the text and diagrams, and the animadversions which add value, rather than the exact name and status of the translator and commentator, which are not given. The native English

response I referred to earlier is incorporated within the same volume as the translation and is emphasised in the stationer's paratext, which summarises it at some length.

The second example is Moseley's five-volume English edition of Madeleine de Scudéry's heroic romance *Artamene; ou le grand Cyrus*, first published 1649–53 in Paris, then in London 1653–55, and listed by William London under 'Romances' as a folio in seven parts.⁵⁷ The textual bibliography of this publication in French is extremely complex and at present incomplete. The French publisher issued it in ten 'tomes' or parts divided into either ten, twenty, or thirty small octavo volumes: one so-called 'edition' followed another very quickly as demand grew exponentially.⁵⁸ In England, Moseley turned this into just five folio volumes, which could of course be bound together when purchased and collected. In one French edition held in the British Library, part 5 of the ten-part romance occupies three individual octavo volumes, with large fonts and wide margins, while the same text represents about a quarter of volumes two and three of Moseley's edition, as bound together in the British Library copy.⁵⁹ Moseley started publishing his English version before Scudéry had finished publishing the whole work. He translated Scudéry's paratext describing it as a serial work in progress, thereby mirroring in England, with a couple of years' time-lag, the relationship the author and publisher built with their market in France.⁶⁰

However, Moseley effected a form of economic translation and priced the work differently in England. For if we ask why he turned a work published in ten, twenty, or thirty octavo volumes in France into just five folio volumes in England, we find the answer in one of his epistles as stationer to the reader:

When lately I began to publish the First in English, the Author had not finish'd his own Originall French; but if He then had, I should scarce have given you the Whole at once, because I would follow my Author's Example; who dividing his Work (into Ten Parts, and Thirty Books) publish'd them successively in equall Volumes, as I do in English; though I make but Five Volumes of his Ten; for in France they pay above Four times the value of what you have them here.⁶¹

As Alice Eardley has argued, Moseley, despite the aristocratic associations of his list, is making sure he does not price a less wealthy clientele out of his shop. The French publisher can afford to invest in the paper necessary

to produce so many different octavo volumes, with such large and attractive fonts and such wide margins, because his aristocratic customers will pay four times the ‘value’—the equivalent amount in French livres and sols—that Moseley’s customers will. As a result, Moseley produces ‘folios of necessity’, having his printer use less paper and making his typesetter cram more lines in per page, in smaller fonts, to publish them in just five volumes, because his customers will only pay a quarter of the ‘value’ for the whole work that their equivalents in France will.⁶² Around 1660 English printers were still, for the most part, using imported French paper, which varied in price according to whether it was of cheap quality, from Brittany, of moderate, from Normandy, or of premium, from La Rochelle. Customs duties were heavy and varied according to the customs officers’ assessment of the value of the imported paper. The importation and consumption of French commodities was a big economic issue—the cost of importing and printing, on imported French paper, a French romance is a particular case in point.⁶³

This is an example, then, where a serial publication in Paris is mirrored in England—though more cheaply—for an audience who may also be buying, seeing, or reading French copies, or at least be aware of their publication in France. The English publisher began the enterprise even before all the volumes were out in Paris. Here the larger context, in terms of the communications circuit, is the role of the London book trade as a kind of increasingly competitive satellite of the Paris book trade—a role intensified, as I said above, during the Interregnum, by the exile in Paris of many royalist aristocrats and gentry who were developing and were to bring back with them a knowledge and taste of French literature. There were other European translations of Scudéry’s extremely popular romance but no other publisher in Europe was as quick as Moseley to mirror the whole work. A Venetian printer, Francesco Storti, published at least nine parts in Italian in duodecimo starting in 1651, two years before Moseley, but it took him until 1662 to get to the ninth part.⁶⁴

In this case the native English—or rather Irish—response to the translated romance comes in a separate volume: *Parthenissa* by Roger Boyle Earl of Orrery. This work, printed (according to ESTC/Wing) by Peter de Pienne in Waterford (Ireland), published by Moseley in London in 1655, and listed by William London, is a romance in imitation of Scudéry.⁶⁵ At this point we are able for the first time to bring in a concrete example of a contemporary reader who might have been interested in Moseley’s wares. What was the publisher up against when marketing his translation of

Artamenes and his edition of *Parthenissa*? It needed to be seen to be produced by and appropriate for persons of quality—especially women—whose model of civility and gallantry was a Francophile one. As I mentioned earlier, the aristocracy and gentry reading these romances had access to the French originals, so they could compare not only price, but language and style. Dorothy Osborne, famous for her epistolary courtship of her future husband William Temple, was an avid reader of romances, especially in the French, and especially *Artamène*. Probably in February 1654 she wrote to Temple about the fact that she had acquired a copy of *Parthenissa*, about which she says:

'Tis handsome language; you would know it to be writ by a person of good quality though you were not told it; but, on the whole, I am not very much taken with it. All the stories have too near a resemblance with those of other romances, there is nothing of new or *surprenant* in them; [...] Another fault I find, too, in the style – 'tis affected. *Ambitioned* is a great word with him, and *ignore*; *my concern*, or *of great concern*, is, it seems, properer than *concernment*; and though he makes his people say fine handsome things to one another, yet they are not easy and *naïve* like the French, and there is a little harshness in most of the discourses that one would take to be the fault of a translator rather than of an author. But perhaps I like it the worse for having a piece of *Cyrus* by me that I am hugely pleased with, and that I would fain have you read: I'll send it you.⁶⁶

Here, then, is an instance of the kind of sensibility, honed by encounters with the latest romances in French, that Moseley is up against, if he wants to sell both his translated and his indigenous romances to persons of quality. Note that Dorothy finds a 'little harshness' in most of the discourses that she would attribute to a translator rather than to an author, thus implicitly referring to the hierarchy that places original works above translations. She considers the work does not compare well with the latest part of *Cyrus* in French, which she sends on to her gallant Temple, whose civility she perhaps hopes or believes is an English match for the characters in the text she is sending.

CONCLUSION

The hypothesis presented in this chapter perhaps, like Osborne's romance, lacks any surprise factor. It is easy to see why, in the English vernacular book trade, the visibility and significance of cross-cultural translation and

imported books and learning might have been greater in humanity and other categories than in divinity and law. It was in these latter two areas that a distinct English, then British nationhood and a newly illustrated English language had been most insistently asserting themselves since the Reformation. With the exception of the English Catholic community, and despite the connectedness at source of the English and the continental reformations, continental authorities and languages had less of a visible role c.1660 in shaping vernacular English divinity than they had had in the first half of the sixteenth century. And, of course, there was more of a popular market for religious books than for literary ones; the 1640s and 1650s saw a democratisation of religious literature, both in terms of authorship and dissemination. Lower class readers lacked the education in Latin and foreign languages that informed literary readers' interest in the European market. Thanks to the humanist-style education that had spread across Europe from the late fifteenth century, foreign language-learning and translation were integral to humane learning.

Nevertheless, the hypothesis is worth proposing and pursuing for the following reason. The institutionalisation of English literature as an independent school and university discipline in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has had a distorting effect on the study of the literary past in early modern England. The customers for vernacular English 'humanity' c.1660 were immersed not just in an English but in a European book world, a world that centred above all on France and Paris—especially for communities of royalists exiled during the Interregnum. They were stimulated to buy books on the basis that they mirrored and adapted Latin, French, and Italian productions of works purveying humane learning, poetry, and letters by renowned continental authors such as Bentivoglio and Scudéry. And the names of some of the translators of this learning—Stapylton, Stanley, Monmouth, Culpeper—could sell books on their own account. At this crucial moment, when orthodoxy has it that English literature was being invented, humane letters was still as much an Englished as an originally English phenomenon.

NOTES

1. William London, *A catalogue of the most vendible books in England* (London: William London, 1658), sig. B4^r; Thomas Stanley, *The history of philosophy* (London: Humphrey Moseley and Thomas Dring, 1655). I cite the 1658 edition of London's work, which includes the first, 1657 cata-

logue, with a supplement covering 1 August 1657 to 1 June 1658. We do not know for sure that London was the publisher or main retailer of these two works. A further supplement followed in 1660, for sale by Luke Fawn and Francis Tyton.

2. London, *A catalogue*, sig. B4^{r-v}; Edward Leigh, *Foelix consortium; or, A fit conjuncture of religion and learning* (London: Charles Adams, 1663).
3. Famiano Strada, *The seige of Antwerp*, trans. Thomas Lancaster (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1656); Michel de Montaigne, *The essayes or morall, politike and millitarie discourses*, trans. John Florio (London: Valentine Simmes for Edward Blount, 1603), sig. A5^r.
4. I am grateful to Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda Hosington for giving me access to the database in its provisional form, before public release. For their model see Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda M. Hosington, 'Translation, History, and Print: A Model for the Study of Printed Translations in Early Modern Britain', *Translation Studies*, 10.1 (2017), 2–21.
5. Taking only the 340 items Moseley says he has already published, I counted 117 translations, or 34.4 per cent. This is well above the average for the book trade as a whole (1475–1640 = 17 per cent, according to the 'Renaissance Cultural Crossroads' catalogue and ESTC).
6. Margaret Schotte, "'Books for the use of the learned and studious": William London's *Catalogue of Most Vendible Books*', *Book History*, 11 (2008), 33–57.
7. John Barnard, 'London Publishing, 1640–1660: Crisis, Continuity, and Innovation', *Book History*, 4 (2001), 1–16; John Barnard, 'Introduction', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume 4: 1557–1695*, edited by John Barnard, D. F. McKenzie, and Maureen Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 1–25 (pp. 22–3); Ian Green and Kate Peters, 'Religious Publishing in England 1640–1695', in *The Cambridge History of the Book*, pp. 67–93 (pp. 67–70); John Barnard and Maureen Bell, 'The English Provinces', in *The Cambridge History of the Book*, pp. 665–86 (pp. 667–8, 671–8, 685–6).
8. The study could be extended to the titles of translations as they appeared in advertisements in serials. See Joshua J. McEvilla, 'A Catalogue of Book Advertisements from English Serials: Printed Drama, 1646–1668', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 107.1 (2013), 10–48 (p. 18). It could also be extended to other sources such as the stationers' registers and the term catalogues.
9. There were also a small number of polyglot editions of the Psalms and the Bible. Another potential exception to investigate would be English Catholic literature in this period—perhaps not fully reflected in William London's *Catalogue*.

10. The most substantial introduction to Moseley and his paratexts remains John Curtis Reed, 'Humphrey Moseley, Publisher', *Oxford Bibliographical Society Proceedings and Papers*, 2 (1927–30), 57–142, with some corrections in the same journal, n.s. 1 (1947), p. 39.
11. David Scott Kastan, 'Humphrey Moseley and the Invention of English Literature', in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, edited by Sabrina A. Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, and Eleanor F. Shevlin (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press; Washington, D.C., in association with the Center for the Book, Library of Congress, 2007), pp. 105–24.
12. Robert Wilcher, 'Moseley, Humphrey (b. in or before 1603, d. 1661)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/19390>, accessed 2 January 2017; Paulina Kewes, "'Give me the Sociable Pocket-Books": Humphrey Moseley's Serial Publication of Octavo Play Collections', *Publishing History*, 38 (1995), 5–21; Peter Lindenbaum, 'Publishers' Booklists in Late Seventeenth-Century London', *The Library*, 11.4 (2010), 381–404.
13. G. E. B. Eyre, H. R. Plomer, and C. B. Rivington, eds., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers; From 1640–1708 A.D.* (London: privately printed, 1913–14), vol. 2, p. 232 (13 July 1659), p. 244 (3 December 1659).
14. Peter Lindenbaum, 'Humphrey Moseley', in *The British Literary Book Trade, 1475–1700*, edited by James K. Bracken and Joel Silver (Detroit: Gale, 1996), pp. 177–83.
15. ESTC R37653, R36544, R209434, R207262, R230554, R27879, R209429. See London, *A catalogue*, sig. C3^r for 'Newcastle ministers'. For London's location on the Tyne bridge, Kiséry (see below, note 17), cites *Extracts from the Newcastle upon Tyne council minute book, 1639–1656* (Publications of the Newcastle upon Tyne Records Committee, vol. I; Newcastle upon Tyne Records Committee: Newcastle upon Tyne, 1920), pp. 110, 137.
16. William London, *The civil wars of France, during the bloody reign of Charles the Ninth* (London: W. London, 1655).
17. András Kiséry, 'The Commonwealth of English Letters: William London, Long-Distance National Booktrade and the Commonwealth of English Letters', paper given at Renaissance Society of America, Miami, 22–24 March 2007; András Kiséry, "'They are Least Usefull of Any": Catalogues, Booksellers, and the Invention of Literature in Seventeenth-Century England', paper given at Graduate Student Conference, Princeton University Centre for the Study of Books and Media, February 2005. I am grateful to Professor Kiséry for providing me with copies of his unpublished

- papers, which offer important evidence and arguments about William London not available elsewhere.
18. Marja Smolenaars, 'London, William (fl. 1653–1660)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/16958>, accessed 2 January 2017; London, *A catalogue*, sig. C1^v.
 19. John Coffey, *John Goodwin and the Puritan Revolution: Religion and Intellectual Change in Seventeenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2006), pp. 253–4.
 20. Schotte, "Books for the use of the learned and studious", pp. 46–8.
 21. Peter Lindenbaum distinguishes between Moseley's booklists, which were more like advertisements printed with and for specific publications, and his catalogues, which were printed separately. The difficulty lies in the fact that the catalogues are always found bound into the back of books published by Moseley, and occasionally by other publishers, and can therefore look like booklists which were printed with a particular volume. Further research is needed to confirm that the lists designated booklists by Lindenbaum appear in all copies of a given Moseley edition, but nowhere else, and that the lists designated catalogues appear at the back of copies of different Moseley editions, and even of editions published by others. See Lindenbaum, 'Publishers' Booklists', pp. 381, 382n.1. The EEBO copy (British Library, Thomason / 169:E.1216[2]) of *Electra of Sophocles presented to Her Highnesse the Lady Elizabeth*, translated by Christopher Wase (The Hague: Sam Brown, 1649), has a Moseley booklist bound in at the back. This reinforces Moseley's association with a clientele of royalist exiles at a very early stage in the Interregnum.
 22. Lindenbaum, 'Humphrey Moseley, 1627–1661', p. 178.
 23. Barnard and Bell, 'The English Provinces', p. 678; Kiséry, 'Catalogues, Booksellers'.
 24. Ian Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion: The Learned Book in the Age of Confessions, 1560–1630* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2012), pp. 176, 216.
 25. Schotte, "Books for the use of the learned and studious", pp. 33–4, 37–8; Barnard and Bell, 'The English Provinces', pp. 673–4.
 26. London, *A catalogue*, 'To the most candid and ingenious reader', sig. C1^r.
 27. I used the version of the list as it occurs at the back of the British Library copy (pressmark 1483.b.5) of Robert Arnauld d'Andilly, *The manner of ordering fruit-trees*, trans. John Evelyn (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1660). It has 363 numbered items. The EEBO copy of the same edition (from the Huntington Library) has only 197 numbered items up to and including the section of 'Bookes newly Printed for Humphrey Moseley' in the list of subheadings transcribed here (with my italics).

28. 'Books lately Printed' recurs on five following pages as an extra running head beneath the main running head ('Books Printed for Humphrey Moseley').
29. David Masson, *Life of Milton Narrated in Connexion with the History of His Time*, 6 vols. (London and New York: Macmillan and Co, 1859–80), vol. 3, p. 448.
30. Thomas Stanley, *Poems* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1652); Paul Davis, *Translation and the Poet's Life: The Ethics of Translating in English Culture, 1646–1726* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). I am drawing here on the draft version of the 'Cultural Crosscurrents Catalogue of Translations in Stuart and Commonwealth Britain'. This edition of Stanley or one that is not extant appeared in Moseley's 1660 catalogue as 'Poems and Translations, the compleat works of Thomas Stanley Esq' under 'Poems lately Printed'.
31. Kastan, 'Humphrey Moseley', pp. 121–2; Trevor Ross, *The Making of the English Literary Canon: From the Middle Ages to the Late Eighteenth Century* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), pp. 133–4.
32. William Cartwright, *Comedies, tragi-comedies, with other poems* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1651), 'To the Stationer (Mr Moseley) on his Printing Mr Cartwright's Poems', sig. *1^{r-v}.
33. Famiano Strada, *De bello Belgico. The history of the Low-Country warres*, trans. Robert Stapylton (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1650).
34. London, *A catalogue*, sig. R5^{r-v}, as 'De juramenti Obligatione, of the Obligation of promissary Oathes: Seven Lectures read in the Divinity Schooles at Oxford, and translated by his Majesties appointment'.
35. Brenda M. Hosington, 'Commerce, Printing, and Patronage', in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Volume 2: 1550–1660*, edited by Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings, and Stuart Gillespie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 47–57 (pp. 52–3).
36. Carlos García, *The antipathy bewteene the French and Spaniard*, trans. Robert Gentili (London: R. Martine, 1641); Carlos García, *The Frenchman and the Spaniard*, trans. Robert Gentili (London: [Humphrey Moseley], 1642); London, *A catalogue*, sig. T4^r. The Houghton Library (Harvard University) copy of this 1642 edition (used on EEBO) has both the R. Martine engraved title-page and the imperfect Moseley title-page.
37. Guido Bentivoglio, *The compleat history of the warrs of Flanders*, trans. Henry Carey Monmouth (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1654), sig. a1^{r-v}; Guido Bentivoglio, *Historicall relations of the United Provinces of Flanders*, trans. Henry Carey Monmouth (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1652).
38. London, *A catalogue*, sigs. K1^v–K2^r, Q1^v, R5^r, R6^r.
39. London, *A catalogue*, sigs. Q2^r, L2^v.

40. London, *A catalogue*, sigs. M3^r, 2H2^r; William London, *A catalogue of new books, by way of supplement to the former. Being such as have been printed from that time, till Easter-Term, 1660* (London: Luke Fawn and Francis Tyton, 1660), sig. B2^r.
41. Schotte, “‘Books for the use of the learned and studious’”, pp. 33–4; London, *A catalogue*, sig. C1^v.
42. London, *A catalogue*, sig. C2^r.
43. London, *A catalogue*, sig. 2E4^v.
44. London, *A catalogue*, sigs. T4^r, V3^r.
45. London, *A catalogue*, sig. A4^{r-v}.
46. London, *A catalogue*, sigs. X1^r, Z4^{r-v}.
47. London, *A catalogue*, sigs. T4^v, V4^{r-v}, X4^r.
48. London, *A catalogue of new books*, sig. C2^r.
49. Odoardo Fialetti, *The whole art of drawing, painting, limning, and etching*, trans. anon. (London: Peter Stint and Simon Miller, 1660). The source may have been Odouardo Fialetti, *Il vero modo et ordine, per disegnar tutte le parti et membra del corpo humano* (Venice: Justus Sadeler, 1608).
50. Fialetti, *The whole art of drawing*, sig. A3^r.
51. Lazare Rivière, *The practice of physick, in seventeen several books ...*, trans. Nicholas Culpeper, Abdiah Cole, and William Rowland (London: Peter Cole, 1655); London, *A catalogue*, sig. Z4^r: ‘The Pract. of Physick, in 17 Books: wherein is plainly set down the nature, cause, differences, and sorts of signs; with the cure of them: by N.C. A.C. and W.R. Physicians; being the translation of the Works of that renowned Dr Lazarus Riverius, Counsellor and Physician to the King of France. 15000 of the said Books in Lat. having been sould in few years.’
52. Feliz Würtz, *An experimental treatise of surgerie, in four parts*, trans. William Johnson (London: Gartrude Dawson, 1656), sigs. a1^v–a2^r.
53. René Descartes, *Renatus Des—Cartes excellent compendium of musick: with necessary and judicious animadversions thereupon. By a person of honour*, trans. William Brouncker (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1653); Eyre, Plomer, and Rivington, *Transcript*, vol. 1, p. 402 (14 September 1652); London, *A catalogue*, sig. 2D4^r; René Descartes, *Musicae compendium* (Utrecht: Gijsbert van Zijll and Dirck van Ackersdijck, 1650).
54. G. S. McIntyre, ‘Brouncker, William, second Viscount Brouncker of Lyons (1620–1684)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.libraries.london.ac.uk/view/article/3597>, accessed 5 January 2017. This article erroneously attributes the translation of the text to Brouncker.
55. *Renatus Des—Carte*, sigs. a2^r, b2^{r-v}.
56. René Descartes, *Abrégé de musique = Compendium musicae*, edited by Frédéric de Buzon (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1987), pp. 37–40.

57. Madeleine de Scudéry, *Artamenes, or The Grand Cyrus*, trans. Francis Gifford, 5 vols. (London: Humphrey Moseley and Thomas Dring, 1653–5); London, *A catalogue*, sig. 2E4^r.
58. See Chantal Morlet Chantalat, *Madeleine de Scudéry* (Bibliographie des écrivains français, 10; Paris: Memini, 1997), p. 30. USTC beta dates a ten-volume octavo edition by Augustin Courbé, the first, to 1649–53. The online catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale de France attributes Courbé with a twenty-volume second edition (1650–3), and a thirty-volume third edition (1651–5), both in octavo, both still in ten ‘tomes’ or parts. But these were not clearly distinct new editions of the whole work.
59. The French edition is BL pressmark 244.h.1–24, and the English is pressmark 86.k.15.
60. Scudéry, *Artamenes*, vol. 3, before sig. A1^r (‘The Author to the Reader’, signed ‘Scudery’).
61. Scudéry, *Artamenes*, vol. 2, sig. A2^v.
62. Alice Eardley, ‘Fact, Fiction, and the Publication of French Romance’, in *Seventeenth-Century Fiction: Text and Transmission*, edited by Jacqueline Glomski and Isabelle Moreau (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 130–42 (pp. 138–9).
63. John Bidwell, ‘French Paper in English Books’, in *The Cambridge History of the Book*, pp. 583–601 (pp. 591–3).
64. See the OPAC SBN ‘Catalogo del Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale’, <http://www.sbn.it/opacsbn/opacolib>. The Storti publishing house continued publishing the volumes until 1669. WorldCat indicates a Spanish version published in the 1680s and a German in the 1690s.
65. London, *A catalogue*, sig. 2E4^r. This listing may refer to Herringman’s rather than to Moseley’s edition.
66. Letter 57, assumed date Sunday, 12 February 1654, in *Letters from Dorothy Osborne to Sir William Temple, 1652–54*, edited by Edward Abbott Parry (London: Griffith, Farran & Co., 1888), pp. 236–7.

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